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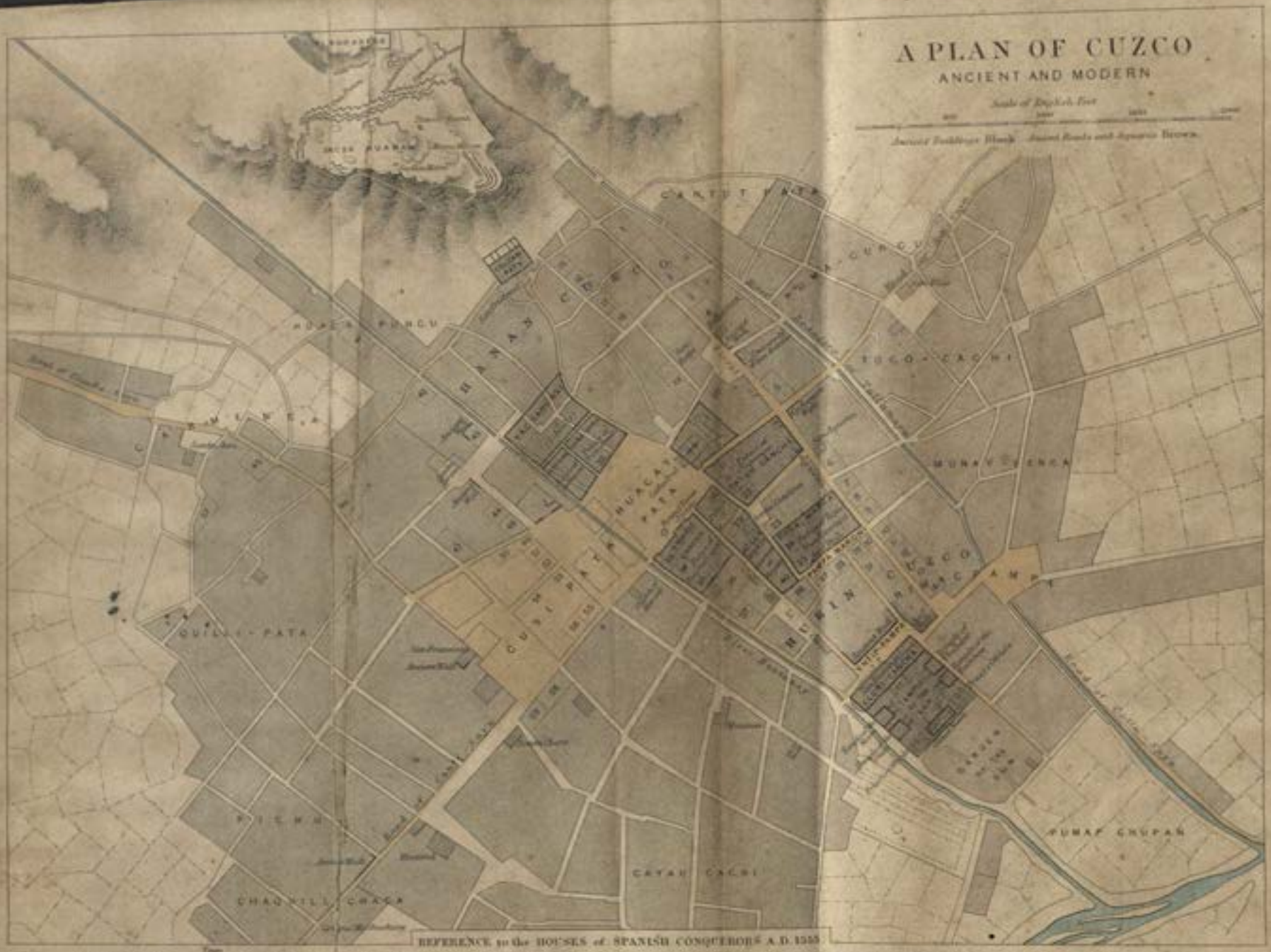
THE ROYAL COMMENTARIES

OF THE YNCAS.

VOL. II.

M.DCCC.LXXI.

A PLAN OF CUZCO
ANCIENT AND MODERN



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FIRST PART

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES

OF

THE YNCAS,

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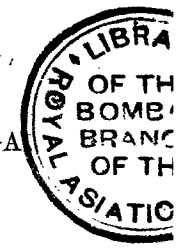
YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA



TRANSLATED AND EDITED,

With Notes, an Introduction, and an Analytical Index,

BY

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B.

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VOLUME II.

(CONTAINING BOOKS V, VI, VII, VIII, AND IX.)

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FIFTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IT EXPLAINS HOW THEY DIVIDED AND CULTIVATED THE LAND.
THE TRIBUTE THAT WAS RENDERED.
THE STORES OF ARMS AND PROVISIONS THEY KEPT FOR WAR.
WHAT CLOTHING THEY GAVE TO THEIR VASSALS.
HOW THEY ALLOWED NO MENDICANCY.
THE LAWS AND ORDINANCES IN FAVOUR OF THE VASSALS, WITH OTHER NOTABLE THINGS.

THE VICTORIES AND GENEROSITY OF THE PRINCE YNCA UIRA-CCOCHA, EIGHTH KING.
HIS FATHER IS DETHRONED.
THE FLIGHT OF A GREAT CHIEF.
THE PROPHECY CONCERNING THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS.

THE BOOK CONTAINS TWENTY-NINE CHAPTERS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THEY DIVIDED THE LAND AMONGST THE VASSALS.

As soon as the Ynca had conquered any kingdom or province, and established his Government amongst the inhabitants according to his laws and idolatrous customs, he ordered that the cultivated land capable of yielding maize should be extended. For this purpose he caused irrigation channels to be constructed, which were most admirable, as may be seen to this day; both those that have been destroyed, the ruins of which are yet visible, and those still in working order. The engineers led the irrigation channels in directions required by the lands to be watered; for it must be known that the greater part of this land is barren as regards corn-yielding soil, and, for this reason, they endeavoured to increase its fertility as much as possible. As the land is under the torrid zone it requires irrigation. The Yncas supplied the water with great ingenuity, and no maize crop was sown without being also supplied with water. They also constructed channels to irrigate the pasture land, when the autumn withheld its rains, for they took care to fertilise the pastures as well as the arable land, as they possessed immense flocks. These channels for the pastures were destroyed as soon as the Spaniards came into the country, but the ruins may be seen to this day.

Having made the irrigation channels, they levelled the

fields and arranged them in squares, so that they might get the full benefit of the water. On the sides of the mountains, where there was good soil, they made terraces so as to get level ground, as may be seen at this day round Cuzco and all over Peru. These terraces or *andenes* consisted of three walls of strong masonry, one in front and two at the sides, slightly inclining inwards, as are all their walls, so as to sustain the weight of the earth, which was filled in until it reached the top of the walls. Over the first *anden* they constructed another narrower one, and above that another still smaller. Thus they gradually covered the whole mountain, levelling the ground after the manner of a flight of stairs, and getting the use of all the land that was suitable for sowing, and that could be irrigated. Where there were masses of rock, the rocks were removed and earth was brought from elsewhere to make terraces, so that even such a site might be made useful and not lost. The first terraces were of a size conformable to the position of the site, capable of containing a hundred to two or three hundred *fanegas*,* more or less; and the second were smaller; and so they went on diminishing in size as they ascended, until the highest only gave room for two or three rows of maize. So industrious were the Indians in all work tending to enlarge the extent of the land capable of yielding maize. In many places they led an irrigation channel for fifteen or twenty leagues, to irrigate only a few *fanegas* of maize land, that it might not be lost.

Having thus increased the quantity of arable land, they measured all that was contained in each province, every village by itself, and then divided it into three parts. The first part was for the Sun, the second for the King, and the third for the people. These divisions were always carefully made, in order that the people might have sufficient land for their crops; and it was a rule that they should rather have

* Corn yielded by a *fanegada*, which is equal to 1.1 acre.

more than was requisite than too little. When the people of a village or province increased in number, a portion was taken from the lands of the Sun and of the Ynca for the vassals. Thus the King only took for himself and for the Sun such lands as would otherwise remain desert and without an owner. Most of the *andenes* belong to the Sun and to the Ynca, because the sovereign had ordered them to be made. Besides the maize lands which were irrigated, other unirrigated tracts were portioned out, in which they sowed pulses and other crops of much importance, such as those they call *papas*,* *ocas*,† and *añus*‡. These also were divided into three parts: for the people, the Sun, and the Ynca. But as they were not fertile, from want of irrigation, they did not take crops off them more than once or twice, and then portioned out other lots, that the first might lie fallow. In this way they cultivated their poor lands, that there might always be abundance.

The maize lands were sown every year, because, as they were irrigated and manured like a garden, they were always fertile. They sowed a seed like rice with the maize, called *quinua*,§ which is also raised on the cold lands.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARRANGEMENT THEY ADOPTED FOR TILLING THE LAND, AND OF THE FESTIVAL THEY HELD WHEN THEY CULTIVATED THE LAND OF THE YNCA AND THE SUN.

They also established a regular order in the tilling and the cultivating of the land. They first tilled the fields of the

* The potato. † *Oxalis tuberosa.* An edible root.

‡ Also a variety of the *Oxalis;* but the root is rather more bitter.

§ *Chenopodium Quinoa.* A cereal.

Sun; then those of the widows, orphans, aged, and sick, for all these persons were classed as poor, and, as such, the Ynca ordered that their fields should be tilled for them. In each village, or in each ward, if the village was large, there were men deputed to look after the lands of persons who were classed as poor. These deputies were named *Llacta-camayu*, which means "officers of the village." They superintended the ploughing, sowing, and harvesting; and at such times they went up into towers the night before, that were built for the purpose, and after blowing through a trumpet or shell to secure attention, cried with a loud voice that on such a day such and such lands of the poor would be tilled, warning those, whose duty it might be, to repair thither. The inhabitants of each district were thus apprised on what lands they were to give assistance, which were those of their relations or nearest neighbours. Each one was expected to bring food for himself of what he had in his house, for those who were unable to work were not required to find food for those who could. It was said that their own misery sufficed for the aged, sick, widows, and orphans, without looking after that of their neighbours. If the disabled had no seed, it was provided from the stores, of which we shall speak presently. The lands of soldiers who were employed in the wars were also tilled in this way, like those of widows and orphans; and while the husbands were serving in the wars, their wives were looked upon as widows during their absence. Great care was taken of the children of those who were killed in the wars, until such time as they were married.

After the lands of the poor and distressed had been tilled, the people worked on their own lands, the neighbours assisting each other. They then tilled the fields of the Curaca, which were the last that received attention in each village or district. In the time of Huayna Ccapac, an Indian superintendent, in the province of Chachapoyas, was hanged because he caused the land of a Curaca, who was a relation

of his, to be tilled before that of a widow. He was punished as a breaker of the rules established by the Ynca for the tilling of the land, and the gallows was set up on the land of the Curaca. The Yncas ordered that the lands of their vassals should take precedence of their own, because they said that from the prosperity of his subjects was derived their faithful service to the King; for if they were poor and in need, they would not be able to serve well either in peace or war.

The last fields that were cultivated were those of the King. All the people tilled the lands of the Ynca and of the Sun in common, and they went to them with great joy and satisfaction, dressed in the clothes which they wore on their grandest festivals. These garments were covered with plates of gold and silver,* and the people also wore plumes of feathers on their heads. When they ploughed (which was the labour they most enjoyed) they sang many songs, composed in praise of their Yncas, and they went through their work with joy and gladness, because it was in the service of their God and of their King.

Hard by the city of Cuzco, on the slopes of the hill where the fortress stands, there was a terrace covering many *fanegas* of ground, and it will be there still, if it has not been covered with houses. It was called the Collcampata.† The suburb which contains it, takes its name from the terrace, and this terrace was the special and principal jewel, so to speak, belonging to the Sun; for it was the first land that was dedicated to that deity throughout the whole empire of the Yncas. This land was cultivated by persons of the blood royal, and none but Yncas and Pallas could work on it. The work was performed with great rejoicing, especially the ploughing, when the Yncas came forth in

* Little square plates, beaten very fine, with holes bored at each corner. They were sewn in rows, on the edges of cloaks and tunics.

† See vol. i, p. 179.

their richest clothes. All the songs that were sung in praise of the Sun and of their Kings, were composed with reference to the meaning of the word *Haylli,* which in the general language of Peru means "triumph." Thus they were said to triumph over the earth by ploughing it, and turning it up so that it might yield fruit. In these songs they inserted graceful references to discreet lovers and to valiant soldiers, all bearing on the triumph over the land that they were tilling. The refrain of each couplet was the word *Haylli,* repeated as often as was necessary to complete the compass which the Indians made; for they ploughed the land backwards and forwards so as to break it up more thoroughly.

Their plough consisted of a pole about a *braza* in length, flat in front and rounded behind. It was four *dedos* in width, and had a point at one end to penetrate the earth. At a distance of half a *vara** from the point there was a flange consisting of two pieces of wood strongly fastened to the pole, on which the Indian placed his feet with a jump, and thus forced the pole into the ground as far as the flange. The ploughers work in rows of seven or eight, more or less, and going all together, they raise such large furrows that it is almost incredible to those who have not seen them. It is most wonderful to behold such simple instruments performing so great a work, and the labourers do it with the greatest ease and without losing the drift of their song. The women walk behind the men, to break the clods, and take up the roots of the plants with their hands and throw them on the top, that they may dry up and die, and there may be less to weed. They also join their husbands in the song, especially in repeating the refrain *Haylli.*

The songs of the Indians and their tune appearing good to the master of the choir of the cathedral church of Cuzco,

* 32.89 English inches is one Spanish *vara.*

he composed a chaunt, in the year 1551 or 1552, for the feast of the most holy sacrament, very like the *haylli*. Eight mestizo boys, school-fellows of mine, came forth dressed as Indians, each with a plough in his hand, to represent the song of *Haylli* in the procession, and the whole choir joined them in the refrain of the couplets, which pleased the Spaniards, and caused great joy to the Indians to see the Spaniards solemnising the festival of our Lord God, whom they called Pachacamac, with the native songs and dances.

I have described the special ceremony performed by the Yncas, when they ploughed that terrace dedicated to the Sun, because I saw it on two or three successive years in my childhood; and from it may be gathered how the other ceremonies were performed in all parts of Peru, when they ploughed the lands of the Sun and of the Yncas; although that ceremony which I saw was but the shadow of those that were performed in the days of the Yncas, according to the accounts of the Indians.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE QUANTITY OF LAND GIVEN TO EACH INDIAN, AND HOW THEY IMPROVED IT.

They gave to each Indian a *tupu*, which is a *fanega* of land, on which to sow his maize; but this would be a *fanega* and a half in Spain. They also call a league of road a *tupu*, and they derive a verb from it which signifies "to measure;" and the word *tupu* is used for any kind of measure, whether of water, wine, or any other liquor. It is also applied to the large pins with which the women fastened their cloaks. The measure for seeds had another name, which was *Poccha*, the equivalent to a *fanegada*.

One *tupu* of land yields sufficient for the sustenance of one married peasant without children.* As soon as he had children another *tupu* was granted for each boy, and half a *tupu* for each girl. When a boy married, the father handed one *tupu* over to him, which had been granted for his sustenance, because when the son left his home the father could not retain what had been given for his son's use.

The daughters did not take their half *tupus* when they married, because they had not been granted as dowers but as the sources of their maintenance; and as land had to be granted to their husbands they could not take away these. For no account was taken of married women, only of women who were not provided with husbands to maintain them before marriage, or after they became widows. The fathers retained the lands granted for the sustenance of their daughters if they required them; and if not they reverted to the State, for no one was allowed to sell or buy.

Besides the lands intended for the maize crops, they set apart some portions for the growth of pulses that were not irrigated.

To the nobility, such as the Curacas who were lords of vassals, were given lands varying in extent according to the number of their wives, children, and servants; and the Yncas of the blood royal received estates in the same way, wherever they desired to live. These estates, however, were in addition to the share that each member of the royal family had in the revenues of the King and of the Sun, as sons of one and brothers of the other.

They manured the land to increase its fertility, and it is to be noted that in the valley of Cuzco, and, indeed, in almost all parts of the Sierra, they used human manure for the

* On the road between Tarma and Xauxa there are many square fields, all of the same size, divided by small stone walls. These are the *tupus* of the times of the Yncas. They are now abandoned and overgrown with rank grass.

maize crops, because they said it was the best. It was collected with great care and diligence, and dried and pulverised when the time for sowing arrived. Throughout the Collao, a province one hundred and fifty leagues in length, where it was too cold to grow maize, they manured the crops of potatoes and pulses with the dung of llamas, which was there considered more beneficial than any other manure.

On the sea coast from below Arequipa to Tarapaca, a distance of more than two hundred leagues, they use no other manure than the droppings of sea birds, of which there are large and small along all the coast, and they fly in such enormous flocks that it would be incredible to any one who had not seen them. They breed on certain desert islands on the coast, and the quantity of manure they make is also incredible. From a distance these heaps of manure look like the peaks of snowy mountains. In the time of the Kings Yncas such care was taken to preserve these birds, that it was unlawful for any one to land on the islands during the breeding season on pain of death; that the birds might not be disturbed or driven from their nests. Nor was it lawful to kill the birds at any time, either on the islands or elsewhere, also on pain of death.

Each island was, by order of the Ynca, set apart for the use of a particular province, or if the island was large it served for two are three provinces; and marks were set up to let the people of one province know their limits, and to prevent them from encroaching on those of another. More minute divisions were also made, to show the portions set apart for each village, which were again subdivided into portions for each individual, according to the quantity of manure that he would require. The inhabitant of one village was punished with death if he took manure from parts set apart for another: nor was he allowed to take more from within his own limits, than had been settled in accordance with the requirements of his lands. Now, in these

times, the matter is dealt with after a different fashion. This bird manure is very fertilising.*

In other parts of the same coast, such as the *hoyas* of Atico, Atequipa, Villa-ccuri, Mala, and Chilca, they manured the fields with the heads of small fish. The people of these valleys get their sustenance with much difficulty, for they have no water for irrigation either from springs or rains. It is well known that it never rains, and that no rivers flow on this coast region, for a length of seven hundred leagues.†

* For an account of the Peruvian guano, see my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 305. See also my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, p. 265; and *Antiquedadas Peruanas*, p. 77.

† Here the Ynca makes a slip of the pen. The desert coast of Peru is crossed by many rivers flowing from the Andes to the sea, and wherever they occur, there is a fertile valley, full of sugar-cane or vineyards; though the intervening space is sandy desert. Of the five *hoyas*, as he calls them, which he here mentions, I have not visited Atico or Atequipa, but I know the other three well. Villa-ccuri (composed of a Spanish and a Quichua word, meaning "town of gold") is in the desert, half way between the port of Pisco and Yca, and far from the sea. In 1853 it consisted of a ruined soap *hacienda*, and a large grove of date palms, with a few wells. Many gold ornaments have been dug up in the *huacas* near *Villa-ccuri*, which were then preserved in Don Juan Avuela's collection at Yca. Mala is a rich valley watered by a river, and has plantations of oranges, vines, and bananas, as well as large pasture grounds for cattle, where the bulls for the Lima bull-fights are reared. Mala is fifty miles south of Lima, and here the famous interview took place between Pizarro and Almagro, when the former intended to have treacherously seized his rival, and would have done so had not the faithful knight, Francisco de Godoy, given timely warning, by humming in the hearing of Almagro, the two first lines of an old song:—

"Tiempo es cavallero,
Tiempo es ya de andar de aqui."

Chilca is about twelve miles north of Mala, close to the sea coast. This place exactly coincides with Garcilasso's account of the *hoyas*, in the text. It is dependent on wells for its supplies of water, and forms a small oasis in the midst of a sandy wilderness. The holes, once sown with maize, are now used as beds for the growth of reeds for matting. Palm trees and figs grow on the sand hills, but supplies come from the valley of Mala. Cieza de Leon also describes Chilca. See my Translation, p. 255.

The land is very hot and sandy. For this reason the inhabitants build their villages and sow their maize as near as possible to the sea, in search of moisture. They dig away the shifting sand which lies on the surface of the ground, sometimes for a depth of one *estado,** sometimes of two, until they reach the water of the sea. For this reason these places were called *hoyas*† by the Spaniards. Some are large and others small, the smallest having about half a *fanega* of extent for sowing, and the largest three or four *fanegas*. It is not necessary to plough the land; but the sowing is done by making holes with thick stakes, into which they put the heads of fish together with two or three grains of maize. This is the manure they use for the crops in the *hoyas*, and they say that any other manure would do more harm than good.‡ Divine providence, abounding in all things, provides for the Indians and the sea-birds such vast shoals of small fish that they serve for food as well as for manuring the ground, and the Indians and birds leave enough to load many ships if they came to collect them. Some say that the small fish come up in their flight from larger ones which devour them; but, however this may be, they are beneficial to the Indians who can thus provide themselves with manure. The Indians are unable to say who first invented these *hoyas;* but doubtless it was necessity which forced the idea upon their minds. For, as we have already said, there is a great want of land suited for growing corn throughout Peru; and in one part they dig these *hoyas*, just as in another they build the *andenes*. Thus all are able to sow what is necessary for the sustenance of their households, and thus they were not obliged to sell their provisions, nor to

* An *estado* is the average height of a man.

† One of the vine estates near Pisco is still called *La Hoya*. It is near the road to Yca.

‡ Cieza de Leon also gives an account of the manure here described. See my Translation, p. 255.

raise the price of them, nor did they know what scarcity was.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THEY DISTRIBUTED THE WATER FOR IRRIGATION. THEY PUNISHED ALL IDLE AND CARELESS PEOPLE.

In the districts where only limited supplies of water for irrigation were procurable, it was distributed by fixed rule and measurement (like everything else that they supplied to the people), for there were no disputes among the Indians on these matters. In the years when there was little rain, the water was supplied by the State. The quantity was measured. It was known by experience what space of time was necessary for the irrigation of one *fanegada* of land; and, according to this rule, they gave each Indian a flow of water for the number of hours necessary to irrigate his land.* They received the water according to their turns, one after the other; and neither the rich, nor the noble, nor the friend or relation of a Curaca, nor the Curaca, nor even the minister, or Governor himself received any preference. He who neglected to irrigate his land within the allotted time was severely punished. He received three or four blows across the shoulders with a stone; or was flogged over the arms and legs with ozier wands as an idle lazy fellow, for this vice was much despised amongst them. They called these idle men *Mizqui-tullu*, which means "sweet bones," being composed of the two words—*mizqui* "sweet," and *tullu* "a bone."

* In Spain the Moorish rules for irrigation differed in each valley. At Elche the right to use the water was sold every morning, for a certain measured time. At Novelda, as in Peru, each proprietor has his turn of water; which he, however, either uses or sells at his own option.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRIBUTE THAT THEY GAVE TO THE YNCAS, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GRANARIES.

Now that the method the Yncas had of dividing the land has been described, and how it was cultivated by the vassals, it will be well to explain the nature of the tribute they paid to their kings. Their tribute was to cultivate the lands of the Sun and of the Ynca, to gather in the harvests, and to store them in granaries which were kept in each village. One of the chief crops was the *uchu*, which the Spaniards call *axi*, and for another name pepper.*

The granaries, called *pirua*, were built of clay mixed with straw. In the time of the Yncas they were constructed with great care. The blocks of clay were of a size conformable to the height of the wall where they were placed, and were cast in different sizes in a mould.† They made the granaries of sizes according to the required measurement, some larger than others, to hold from fifty to two hundred *fanegas*.‡ Each granary was measured so as to be of the required size. It had four walls, and there was a passage down the middle, leading from one granary to another, so that they could be emptied or filled at pleasure. But they did not move them from where they were once placed. In order to empty a granary, they had small windows in front, in eight squares, opening so as to give a measurement of the quantity of grain that was poured out, and thus they knew the number of *fanegas* that had been taken out and the quantity remaining, without having to measure it further. Thus they could easily tell, by the size of the granaries, the quantity of maize in each depôt, and by the windows they knew how much had

* Grown in the coast valleys.

† These are the *adobes* or sun-dried bricks.

‡ A *fanega* is about a bushel.

been taken out and how much was left in each granary. I saw some of these granaries, which remained from the time of the Yncas, and they were among the best, for they were in the house of the virgins of the Sun, and were built for the use of those women. When I saw them, the convent had become the house of the sons of Pedro del Barco,* who were my school-fellows.

The crops of the Sun and those of the Ynca were shut up in places apart, though in the same depôt. The seeds for sowing were given by the Lord of the land, who was the Sun or the King; and in the same way for the sustenance of the Indians who worked, that they might be maintained each out of his own estate, when they tilled and cultivated their lands; so that the Indians only had to give personal labour as their tribute. The vassals paid nothing to the Ynca from their own crops. Father Acosta says the same in the fifteenth chapter of his sixth book, in these words,— "The Ynca gave the third part of the land to the people. It has not been ascertained how much this portion was, whether larger or smaller than that of the Ynca and the *Huacas,* but it is certain that care was taken that it should be sufficient to maintain the people. No person had any private right in this third part, nor did the Indians possess private property. All was held through the generosity of the Yncas, and the people were not allowed to alienate it, or even to divide it amongst their heirs. These lands of the people were divided every year, and each man was assigned a certain portion to maintain himself and family, so that some years it was smaller and others larger, according to the size of his family; for there was a special measurement of land assigned according to the number to be maintained. This land, which was divided each year, never paid any tribute; for the tribute consisted solely in personal service on the lands of the Yncas and of the *Huacas,* and in the storing the crops

* See an account of Pedro del Barco in vol. i, p. 295 (*note*).

"in the granaries." So far is from Father Acosta. He calls the lands of the Sun—"of the *Huacas*," because they were sacred.*

Throughout the whole province called Colla, which is more than one hundred and fifty leagues long, no maize is grown on account of the cold. But much *quinua* is raised, which is like rice, as well as other cereals and pulses which ripen. Among these there is one called *papa*,† round and moist, and inclined to rot soon, on account of its moistness. To preserve it, they put it in the earth, and cover it with a very good kind of grass that grows in the fields there.‡ They leave it for many nights exposed to the frost, for it freezes hard throughout the year in that province. As soon as the frost is passed, they cover the *papas* with straw, and press them gently to squeeze out all moisture, both that naturally existing and that caused by the frost. After they have been well pressed, they expose them to the sun until they have been completely dried. Prepared in this way the *papa* will keep for a long time; its name is then changed, and it is called a *chuñu*.§ This is the way all the *papas* were treated that were gathered from the lands of the Sun and the Ynca; and they were then stored in the depôts with the other provisions.

CHAPTER VI.

THEY MADE CLOTHING, ARMS, AND SHOES FOR THE SOLDIERS.

The principal tribute was to sow the lands, reap the crops, and till the ground of the Sun and the Ynca; but

* The Ynca's explanation of the meaning of the word *Huaca* will be found in detail in vol. i, pp. 114 to 120.

† *Potato.* ‡ *Stipa ychu.*

§ The *chuñu*, insipid, tasteless stuff, is still the staple food in the Collao of Peru.

the people also paid another sort of tribute, which was to make clothes, shoes, and arms for the soldiers and the poor who could not work themselves, owing to age or infirmity. In distributing and ordering this second tribute, the same rules were observed as in all other similar matters. The cloth, in all parts of the Sierra, was made of wool, which the Ynca supplied from his innumerable flocks, and those of the Sun. On the plains of the sea coast, where the climate is warm and they do not dress in woollens, they made cotton cloths, the cotton being provided from the crops of the Ynca and of the Sun. They made three kinds of woollen cloth. The coarsest, called *avasca*, was for the common people. Another finer kind, called *compi*, was used by the captains, curacas, and other officials. They made it of all colours and patterns, on a frame, as they make the cloths of Flanders, and it was wove double. Another kind was very fine, and was also called *compi*. It was reserved for persons of the blood royal, whether they were captains of soldiers or royal governors. The fine cloth was made in the provinces, where the natives were most expert and handy in its manufacture, and the coarse kind was wove in districts where the natives had less skill. All the wool for this cloth was worked up into thread by the women, and they also wove the coarser kind called *avasca*, but the fine cloth was wove by men, because they worked standing. Both were made by vassals, and not by the Yncas, who did not even weave the cloth for their own dresses. I say this because there are those who have asserted that the Yncas themselves wove. Further on, when we treat of the way in which knights were armed, we shall explain how it is that the Yncas were said to spin. The shoes were made in the provinces where aloes were most abundant, for they were made of the leaves of a tree called *maguey*. The arms also were supplied by the provinces where the materials for making them were most abundant. In some they made bows and arrows, in others lances and

darts, in others clubs and axes, in others slings and lashings, in others shields, for these shields were their only defensive weapons. In fine, each province furnished its own produce, without seeking in any strange land for what it did not yield itself, for no province had to supply anything that did not belong to it. Thus they paid their tribute without having to leave their homes, and it was the universal law throughout the empire that no Indian should be obliged to go beyond his own home to seek what he had to furnish as tribute. For the Yncas said that it was unjust to expect from their vassals any articles that their district did not produce, and that such demands would open the door to people wandering about from place to place, and becoming vagabonds. Thus they had four things to supply to the Ynca, namely, provisions from his own lands, cloth made from the wool of the royal flocks, arms, and shoes, according to the products of their respective districts. The demands were divided with great care and regularity. The provinces that were charged with the supply of cloth, owing to the peculiar facilities they had for weaving it, were relieved of all demands for arms and shoes, and so on with the others; and in this way no province could feel any grievance. This kindly forethought led the vassals to serve the Ynca with such pleasure and satisfaction, that a famous Spanish historian, speaking of these rules, uses the following words:— "But the greatest source of wealth of these barbarous kings was that all their vassals were their slaves, whose labour they made use of as they pleased; and that which causes astonishment is that they were served by these vassals with so much order and regularity that their lives were very happy and not in any way lives of slavery." So far is from another writer, and I insert it here as I shall quote this most venerable author in other places. He is the father José de Acosta of the Company of Jesus; whose authority, and that of other Spanish historians, I desire to appeal to against evil

speakers, who will not then be able to say that I invent fables in praise of my country and my relations. Such was the tribute that the Indians paid, in those days, to their idolatrous kings.

Another sort of tribute was imposed upon those who could not work, and were called poor; and this was that, at certain intervals, they had to deliver a specified number of cane joints full of lice to the governor of their village. They say that the Yncas imposed this tribute in order that no one (except those exempted from tribute) should contribute nothing, however poor he might be; and therefore from those who were disabled from paying tribute in personal service was exacted a tribute of lice. It was also said that the chief reason of the Yncas for requiring this tribute was a loving care for these poor people, that they might be obliged to clean themselves, and not become a prey to the lice. For such thoughtful care as this, which the Yncas showed in all things, they were called the Friends of the Poor. The Decurions (of whom we have already spoken) were expected to see that this tribute was paid.

The following persons were exempt from tribute:—all members of the royal family, priests, ministers of the temple, Curacas or lords of vassals, captains and officers down to centurions even if they were not of the blood royal, all governors, judges, and royal officials during their terms of office, all soldiers while on active service, and youths who had not reached the age of twenty-five years; for up to that time they were expected to help their parents, and were not allowed to marry. After marriage they were free from payment of any tribute for the first year. Old people, from fifty upwards, were also exempt, and all women, as well maidens as widows and married women; though many Spaniards have it that women paid tribute, because they all had to work. But they are mistaken; for when the women did any work, it was to help their fathers or husbands to

complete their tasks more easily, and not because tribute was required from themselves. The sick were also exempt until they recovered their health, as well as the blind, lame, and maimed. But the deaf and dumb were not exempt, because they were able to work. Personal labour was the tribute that each man paid. Father Blas Valera says the same, as we shall see further on, and it will be found that he agrees exactly with me in all matters relating to the tribute.

CHAPTER VII.

GOLD AND SILVER AND OTHER THINGS OF VALUE WERE NOT OFFERED AS TRIBUTE, BUT AS PRESENTS.

The gold, silver, and precious stones which the Yncas possessed in such great quantities, as is notorious, were not the fruits of enforced tribute that the Indians were obliged to give, nor did the Yncas require them, because they were not necessary either for the affairs of war or peace. These things were not valued as treasure, because buying and selling with gold and silver were unknown, nor were the soldiers paid with these metals; nor were they spent in procuring anything whatever. They were merely valued for their beauty and splendour, to adorn the palaces, temples, and convents of virgins, as we have stated in its place, and shall further enlarge upon hereafter.

The Yncas had discovered quicksilver, but they had no use for it, and indeed believed it to be hurtful. Its extraction was therefore forbidden; and further on we shall give a fuller account of it.

We have said that gold and silver were presented to the King, and were not forced tribute; for the Indians, then as now, never thought of approaching a superior without

bringing a present, and when they had nothing else, they offered a basket of green or dried fruit. The Curacas, lords of vassals, visited the Ynca on the principal festivals of the year, especially on the greatest of all in honour of the Sun, called *Raymi*, and on occasion of the triumphant celebration of victories, and when the heir to the throne was shorn and named, and on many other occasions during the year; such as when they had an interview with the King touching their own affairs, or when the King visited his provinces. On all these occasions the Curacas never kissed his hands without presenting him with all the gold and silver and precious stones that their Indians could collect when they had no other work to do. But as these were not things necessary for existence, they did not wish for them unless they had no other work to employ their time. Yet, as they saw that these metals were used to adorn the palaces and temples (places which they valued so highly), they employed their spare time in seeking for gold, silver, and precious stones to present to the Ynca and to the Sun, who were their gods.

Besides these treasures, the Curacas presented to their Kings many kinds of precious woods for the palaces. They also brought with them the men who excelled in any art, such as silversmiths, painters, singers, and carpenters. For the Yncas had men skilled in all these arts, and the Curacas presented such men, as worthy to serve their King. The common people did not require the aid of such artizans, because each Indian knew how to supply what he and his household needed; such as to make clothes and shoes, and to build a poor hut in which to live; though then these huts were given them ready made by the officials, and now each Indian builds one for himself, with the aid of his friends and relations. Thus the poor people did not require the help of artizans, because they had no needs beyond the necessity for sustaining life, without that super-

abundance of such things as are necessary for the great and powerful.

Besides these artizans who excelled in various trades, the Curacas presented to the Yncas many wild animals, such as tigers, lions, bears, monkeys, cats, macaws, vultures, and the birds they call condors, which are the largest of all the birds either here or there. They also presented large and small serpents, such as inhabit the country of the Antis. The largest, called *Amaru*, are twenty-five or thirty feet and more in length. They also brought great toads and lizards. The Curacas from the sea-coast presented seals and alligators, which are also twenty-five to thirty feet long. In short, there was nothing worthy of remark for its ferocity, size, or beauty which they did not present together with the gold and silver; as much as to say that the Ynca was lord of all those things, and to show the devotion with which he was served.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MANNER OF GUARDING THE TRIBUTE, AND HOW IT WAS USED.

It will be well that we should explain how this tribute was guarded, and in what way it was used. Throughout the empire there were three kinds of storehouses, in which the crops and other tribute were shut up. In each village, whether it was large or small, there were two storehouses. In one was deposited the provision which was stored up for the people, to guard against famine in years of scarcity; and in the other the crops of the Ynca and of the Sun were kept. There were other storehouses on the royal roads, at intervals of three leagues, which now serve as inns and taverns for the Spaniards.

The crops of the Sun and the Ynca, for a circuit of fifty leagues round the city of Cuzco, were brought in for the use of the Court, and that the Ynca might have the means of feeding the captains and Curacas who came to him.

The crops of the other villages, outside this circuit, were guarded in royal granaries, and thence conveyed to the storehouses on the royal roads, where provisions, arms, clothes, and shoes were kept for the soldiers who marched along these highways to the four quarters of the globe, or *Ttahua-ntin Suyu*. These storehouses were so well stored that even when many companies of soldiers passed, there was always enough for all. The soldiers were not allowed to lodge in the villages at the cost of the people. The Yncas said that after the villages had paid their proper share of tribute, it was not just to exact more; and hence arose the law that any soldier should be punished with death who took the smallest thing from a vassal. Pedro de Cieza de Leon, speaking of the roads in his sixtieth chapter, uses these words:—"In every valley there was a principal station for the Yncas, with depôts of provisions for the troops. If anything was not ready, a severe punishment was inflicted; and if any of those whose duty it was to traverse the road entered the fields or dwellings of the Indians, although the damage they did was small, they were ordered to be put to death."* So far is from Pedro de Cieza. The Indians said that to prevent the soldiers from doing harm to any one either in the fields or villages, and that their punishment for doing so might be just, they were given all that they required. As fast as the soldiers used up what was stored up in the roadside depôts, they were replenished from the stores in the villages, so that there was never any deficiency.

Agustin de Zarate, having spoken of the grandeur of the royal roads (which we shall describe in the proper place),

* See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, p. 217.

says what follows in his first book, chapter 14:—"Besides the work and expense of these roads, Huayna Ccapac ordered that from stage to stage, in the Sierra, palaces of great size should be built, and lodgings where he and his household might rest, with all his arms. And on the plains near the coast there were similar buildings, although they could not be so close together as those in the Sierra, because they must be on the banks of rivers, which are eight or ten, and in parts fifteen or twenty leagues from each other. These lodgings were called *Tampu*, and the Indians of the surrounding districts had to store them with all things necessary for an army, not only provisions, but arms, clothes, and all other requirements. So that in each lodging a body of 20,000 or 30,000 men could be fitted out for the field, without going outside the house." The Yncas took with them a great body of men armed with pikes and shields, axes of silver and copper, and some of gold, slings, darts of palm with twisted points," etc.

So far is from Agustin de Zarate, touching the provision that was made for the armies on the royal roads.

If the estates of the King were not sufficient to provide for the excessive cost of a war, then those of the Sun were made available, which the Ynca considered to be his, as the legitimate child and heir of the Deity. The supplies which were not consumed in the war, and remained over, were preserved in the three classes of storehouses already described, for distribution among the people in years of scarcity, for the Yncas took great thought for their welfare.

The priests and ministers of their idolatry were maintained out of the estates of the Sun while they officiated in the temples, which they did in weekly rotation. But when they were in their own houses they fed at their own cost, and received lands to till, like the rest of the people. With all this, the consumption of the crops from the estates

of the Sun on the priests was small in comparison with the yield; so that there was a large surplus to help the Ynca in any difficulty.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VASSALS WERE SUPPLIED WITH CLOTHES. NO BEGGING WAS ALLOWED.

As there were regulations for the supply of clothing, in abundance, to the soldiers; so also the wool was given to the Curacas and vassals generally every two years, to enable them to make clothes for themselves and their families; and it was the duty of the Decurions to see that the people were clothed. The Indians, and even the Curacas, had few llamas; while the Sun and the Yncas possessed innumerable flocks. The Indians said that when the Spaniards first came to that country there was scarcely sufficient pasture for the flocks, and I have heard my father and his contemporaries relate the great excesses and waste committed by some Spaniards among these flocks, which I shall relate in its place. In the warm country cotton was distributed from the royal estates for clothing for the Indians and their families. Thus they had all that was required for human life, both in clothes, shoes, and food; and no one could be called poor, or require to seek alms. For all had as much as they would have required if they had been rich, but they were as poor as possible in unnecessary things, having nothing more than they required. Father Acosta, speaking of Peru, says briefly and compendiously what we have related with so much prolixity. At the end of the fifteenth chapter of the sixth book he has these words:—"The sheep were shorn at the proper season, and each person was given wool to spin and weave into

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cloth for his wife and children. Visits were made to see if this was done, and the idle were punished. The wool that was over was put into the storehouses; which were full of it, and of all other things necessary for human life, when the Spaniards arrived. No thoughtful man can fail to admire so noble and provident a Government. For, without being religious or Christians, the Indians attained to a high state of perfection in providing all that was necessary, and plentifully sustaining their houses of religion, as well as those of their King and Lord." Thus ends his fifteenth chapter, which is entitled—"*The revenue of the Ynca and the tribute.*"

In the following chapter, speaking of the occupations of the Indians, he touches upon many things that we have already mentioned, and others that we shall describe presently. He here says what follows, copied word for word:—"Another thing which the Indians of Peru practised was to teach each boy all the arts which it was necessary a man should know to sustain human life. For, among these people, they had no special tradesmen, as we have, such as tailors, shoemakers, or weavers; but each man learnt all, so that he could himself make all that he required. All men knew how to weave and make clothes; so that when the Ynca gave them wool, it was as good as giving them clothes. All could till and manure the land, without hiring labourers. All knew how to build houses. And the women knew all these arts also, practising them with great diligence, and helping their husbands. Other occupations, which were not connected with ordinary wants, had their special artizans, such as silversmiths, painters, potters, boatmen, accountants, and musicians. Even in the ordinary labours of weaving, tilling, and building, there were masters for special work, who served the Lords. But among the common people, as has been said, each could do all that was necessary in his household, without having to pay another, and it is the same at

the present day. So that no one had any necessity for the help of another, either to make his shoes, or clothes, or house, or to sow and reap for him, or to make his furniture or tools. In this the Indians closely imitated the institutions of the monks of old, as described in the lives of the fathers. In truth, these people were neither covetous nor wasteful, but were contented to pass their lives in great moderation, so that surely if their mode of living had been adopted from choice, and not from habit, we must have confessed that it was a very perfect state of existence. Nor were the seeds wanting for the reception of the doctrine of the Holy Gospel, which is so hostile to pride, avarice, and waste. But the preachers do not always make their acts agree with the doctrine they preach to the Indians." A little further on he says: —"It was an inviolable law that no one should change the peculiar dress of his province, even if he moved to another; and the Yncas held this rule to be very conducive to good government. The custom is still observed, although not so strictly as it was then." So far the Father Acosta. The Indians wonder much at the way the Spaniards change the fashion of their dress every year, and attribute it to pride and presumption.

The custom of never seeking alms was still observed in my day; and up to the time when I left Peru, in 1560, throughout all the parts that I travelled over, I never saw an Indian, man or woman, begging. I only knew one old woman in Cuzco, named Isabel, who begged, and her habit was more to go jesting from house to house, like a gipsy, than to seek alms from necessity. The Indians quarrelled with her, and spat on the ground, which is a sign of contempt and abhorrence; so that she never begged of the Indians, but only of the Spaniards; and as, even in my time, there was no regular money in the country, they gave her maize as alms, which was what she wanted. If she saw that it was given cheerfully, she asked for a bit of meat also,

and if that was given, she begged for something to drink, and presently carried the joke so far as to hint at a little *cuca*, which is the much prized herb that the Indians chew. And thus she went on with her lazy vicious life.

The Yncas, in their administration, did not forget the travellers, but along all the royal roads they ordered houses for travellers to be built, called *corpa-huasi*, where they were given food and all things necessary for their journeys, from the royal stores kept in each village. If they fell ill, they were attended with great care and kindness; so that they had everything as if they had been in their own houses. It is true that they did not travel for their own pleasure or amusement, nor on their own business, for no such thing was known; but by order of the King or of the Curacas, who sent them from one part to another, or by direction of captains or officials, either of war or peace. These travellers were carefully looked after, but any who travelled without just cause, were punished as vagabonds.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORDERING AND DIVISION OF THE FLOCKS, AND OF THE STRANGE ANIMALS.

In order to preserve some account of the multitude of llamas belonging to the Yncas, they were divided according to their colours, for these animals are of many different colours like the horses in Spain, and there was a name for each colour. Those which were of two colours they called *Muru-muru*, or, as the Spaniards pronounce it, *Moromoro*. If a lamb was born of a different colour from its parents, as soon as it was raised, it was removed to the flock of its own colour. In this way they kept an account of the flocks with

great ease, by means of their knots, the threads being dyed of the same colours as the flocks to which they referred.

The droves, for carrying supplies and stores from one station to another, consisted of these llamas, which the Spaniards called sheep, but they were more like camels, without the hump, than sheep: and, although it was a common custom for Indians to carry loads, the Ynca did not permit it in his service, except in cases of necessity. He ordered that they should be exempted from all labour that could be performed in any other way, in order that they might be reserved for labour that could be executed in no other way; such as building fortresses and palaces, making bridges, roads, terraces, and aqueducts, and other useful works on which the Indians were constantly engaged.

We shall relate further on what use was made of the gold and silver that the vassals presented to the Ynca for adorning the temple of the Sun, the palaces, and convents.

The strange birds, wild beasts, serpents large and small, and other animals presented by the Curacas were kept in the provinces which still retain their names; and some were kept at court, as well to increase its grandeur as to let the vassals know that their offerings had been accepted, which was the greatest gratification they could receive.

There was some recollection left of the districts where these animals were kept, when I departed from Cuzco. The part of the city where the house of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus now stands was called *Amaru-cancha*, or the district of *Amaru*, which means a very large kind of serpent.* The parts where they kept the lions, tigers, and bears was called *Puma-curcu* and *Puma-chipana*, giving the name of lion, which they call *puma*. One of these districts was at the

* There is a huge stone lintel, with two serpents carved in relief upon it, in a house in the part of Cuzco to which our author here alludes.

foot of the hill on which the fortress stands, and the other was on one side of the monastery of San Domingo.

The birds, that they might breed more conveniently, were kept outside the city. Hence, an estate about a league to the south of Cuzco, is called *Suri-hualla*, or "the plain of ostriches." It belonged to my tutor Juan de Alcobaça, and his son Diego de Alcobaça the Presbyter, my school-fellow, inherited it from him.*

The fierce animals, such as tigers, lions, serpents, toads, and lizards (besides those set apart for the splendour of the court) were kept to punish criminals, as we shall relate in another place when we treat of the laws they made for the punishment of delinquents.

This is what there is to say, touching the tribute paid to the King's Yncas, and the way it was used. I have taken what follows from the papers in the handwriting of the curious and learned Father Blas Valera, that the agreement may be seen between his narrative and all that I have said touching the customs, laws, and administration of my country. His Paternity wrote with a better method, more briefly, and in a fine and pleasant style; which has induced me to copy what follows. It will add a charm to my history, supplement what is wanting in it, and corroborate the truth of the statements it contains.

CHAPTER XI.

LAWS AND ORDINANCES OF THE YNCAS, FOR THE GOOD OF THEIR VASSALS.

Father Blas Valera says what follows touching the government of the Yncas, which I have translated literally from his most elegant Latin, because it corroborates what I

* See vol. i, p. 211.

have already said, and because of the great value of his authority. "The Indians of Peru began to have some kind of government from the time of Ynca Manco Ccapac, and of the King Ynca Rocca, who was another of their Kings. Previous to that time they had lived for many ages in a state of barbarism and torpidity, without any semblance of laws or polity. But from the time of those Kings they instructed their children, communicated one with another, clothed themselves, not only with regard to decency, but with some attempt at elegance, cultivated the fields with industry and in company with each other, and appointed judges. They began to converse courteously, to build houses, as well private as public, and to make many things which deserve praise. They very cheerfully adopted the laws that their Princes taught them from the light of nature, and observed them very carefully. In all this I hold, for my part, that these Yncas of Peru ought to be preferred, not only to the Chinese, Japanese, and Eastern Indians, but also to the heathen nations of Asia and Greece. Because, when properly considered, the labours of Numa Pompilius in making laws for the Romans, of Solon in doing the same for the Athenians, and of Lycurgus for the Lacedæmonians, are not such admirable works; seeing that they were acquainted with letters and human sciences. Thus they had, by this means, learned to draw up codes of laws and good customs, which they left written down for the men of their own time, and for posterity. But the wonder is that the Indians, being entirely deprived of these aids, should succeed in framing their laws (not including those appertaining to their idolatry) so well and in such numbers; which are still observed by the faithful Indians, all based on reason, and in conformity with those of the most lettered lawgivers. They wrote them down distinctly by means of knots and threads of different colours which they kept for these purposes, and so taught them to their sons and descendants.

Thus the laws that were established by their first kings, six hundred years ago, are now as well preserved in the memories of the people as if they had just been promulgated afresh. They had a municipal law, treating of all matters bearing on the administration of the different tribes and villages, and an agrarian law regulating the division and measurement of the land amongst the inhabitants of each village, which were arranged with extreme care and exactness. The measurers lined out the land with their cords by *fanegas*,* which they called *tupu*, and handed it over to the people, assigning to each man his portion. They called the 'common law' that which obliged the Indians (except old men, sick, and children) to work on public undertakings, such as the building of temples and palaces, tilling royal grounds, making bridges, repairing roads, and other labour of a like nature. They called the 'brotherly law' that which compelled the inhabitants of every village to help each other in getting in the harvest, building houses, and similar work, without any pay. There was a law which they called *mita-chanacuy*, which means to take turns according to families. By this law it was ordered that in all public works there should be a regular turn for each village, family, and individual, each doing his share and no more, so that every man should have his turn of work and turn of rest. They had a law touching ordinary expenses, which decreed that there should be no extravagance in dress, or in the use of precious things, such as gold and silver, and gems, and totally prohibited all superfluity in eating. This law also ordained that three or four times a month all the inhabitants of each village should feast together, before their Curacas, and exercise themselves in military or popular games, that they might preserve constant friendship among themselves, and that the shepherds and husbandmen might have times for rejoicing and relaxation. The law in

* Or rather *fanegadas*. A *fanega* is a measure of corn, a *fanegada* is the extent of land required to raise a *fanega*.

favour of those who were called poor decreed that the blind, lame, aged, and infirm, who could not till their own lands so as to clothe and feed themselves, should receive sustenance from the public stores. Another law ordained that strangers and travellers should be treated as guests, and public houses were provided for them, called *corpa huasi*, where they were supplied with all they required. The same law decreed that all the poor should be invited to the public banquets two or three times a month, that, in the universal rejoicing, they might forget their own misery. Another law was called *Casera*, and contained two provisions. The first was that no one should be idle, and even children of five years old were employed at very light work, suitable to their age. Even the blind and lame, if they had no other infirmity, were provided with certain kinds of work. The rest of the people, while they were healthy, were occupied each at his own labour, and it was a most infamous and degrading thing among these people to be chastised in public for idleness. The same law provided that the Indians should dine and sup with open doors, that the judges might be able to enter freely to visit them. For there were certain judges whose duty it was to visit the temples and public buildings, as well as the private houses. They were called *Llacta-comayu*. These officials, or their deputies, minutely inspected the houses, to see that the man, as well as his wife, kept the household in proper order, and preserved a due state of discipline among their children. These officials had to see that everything in the house was kept clean and in order, as well the clothes as the furniture and utensils. Those who were orderly received the reward of public commendation, while the disorderly were flogged on the arms and legs, or received such other chastisement as the law ordained. These were the reasons that all things necessary for human life were so abundant that they were almost given away for nothing. The other laws and moral ordinances,

which all observed, may be gathered from what we shall say touching their lives and customs. We shall also relate at large how it is that these laws, or the greater part of them, have been lost with the government of the Yncas, which was so excellent and so worthy of praise, and how it is that the Indians now want the habits of good citizens, and are deficient in the necessaries of life, when in those times they possessed all these blessings."

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THEY CONQUERED AND CIVILISED THE NEW VASSALS.

"The method the Yncas adopted for conquering new territory, and their way of teaching the people to adopt a civilised mode of life, are certainly not things that should either be forgotten or despised. From the time of the first kings, who were imitated by their successors, they never made war without causes which appeared to them to be sufficient, such as the necessity for reducing the barbarians to a state of civilisation, or the prevention of injuries to their own vassals; and before going to war the enemy was offered terms one, two, or three times. After subjugating a province, the first thing the Ynca did was to take the principal idol as a hostage and send it to Cuzco, ordering it to be kept there in a temple until the chief and people were undeceived respecting their false gods, and were taught the idolatry of the Yncas, who worshipped the Sun. They did not throw down the false gods as soon as a province was conquered, because the natives would be offended at any slight to their idols, until they were instructed in the equally vain religion of the Yncas. They also sent to Cuzco the principal chief and all his sons, to show them kindness and bestow favours upon them, and that

they, by frequenting the court, might learn not only the laws and customs, and the language, but also the rites, ceremonies, and superstitions of the Yncas. This done, the chief was restored to his ancient dignity and lordship, and the vassals were ordered to serve and obey him as their natural lord. And in order that the conquering and vanquished soldiers might be reconciled, and live together in perpetual friendship and peace, forgetting all causes for anger and rage that had been brought about by the war, it was ordered that grand banquets should be celebrated, to which all, even the blind, lame, and other poor people, were invited, to enjoy the royal hospitality. At these festivals there were dances of maidens, games for the boys, and military exercises for the men. Besides all this, they gave many gifts of gold and silver, and feathers, to adorn the festive dresses. Dresses, and other presents, much valued among them, were also distributed. The Ynca bestowed all these and similar gifts on the newly conquered people, so that however barbarous they might have been, they were subjugated and united in love by such a chain to the Ynca's service, that they hardly ever afterwards rebelled. And in order to remove all cause of complaint that might give rise to rebellion, their ancient statutes and laws were confirmed anew, without altering anything except what was opposed to the religion and laws of the empire. When it was necessary they removed the inhabitants of one province to another, providing them with lands, houses, and flocks in sufficient quantity, and sent in their places some emigrants from Cuzco, or other faithful province, as soldiers in a garrison, that they might teach the natives the laws, rites, and ceremonies, and the general language of the kingdom.

"The rest of the mild institutions of the Kings Yncas, in which they showed themselves superior to all the other nations of the new world, have been preserved, not only by means of the knots used by the Indians, and their traditions, but in

the authentic records which the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, ordered his officers and secretaries to write, after having fully informed themselves by examining the Indians of each province.* These papers are now in the public archives, and by them it may clearly be seen how benignantly the Kings Yncas of Peru treated their subjects. For, as I have before said, excepting a few alterations that were necessary for the welfare of the whole empire, all the other laws and customs of the conquered provinces were retained without any change. The estates and patrimonies of the conquered were ordered by the Yncas to be restored to their old possessors without any diminution. The Yncas never allowed their soldiers to rob or seize the property of the people in the subjugated provinces, and in a short time the conquered tribes settled down peacefully, and sent their men to the army as if they had been old soldiers of the Ynca, and his most faithful subjects from ancient times.

"The tributes imposed on the vassals of the Yncas were so light, that it will seem laughable to those who continue to read what I am about to write. And, not content or satisfied with all this, the Yncas distributed, with ungrudging bounty, all things necessary for food and clothing, as well as many other gifts, not only to the chiefs and nobles, but also to the people. They might more properly be called diligent fathers of families, or careful stewards, than kings. From these attributes was derived the name of *Ccapac Titu*, which the Indians used in speaking of the Ynca. *Ccapac* is the same as a powerful prince, rich in greatness, and *Titu* means a liberal, magnanimous demi-god, or Augustus. Hence it was, too, that these Kings of Peru were so beloved by their people,

* These records, if they exist, are still in manuscript, and not in Lima. Some valuable state papers, drawn up by viceroys of Peru, were published at Lima in 1859, and ably edited by Señor Fuentes. But the earliest that could be found was a report by the Marquis of Montes Claros, written in 1615. Don Francisco de Toledo was viceroy from 1581 to 1583. His *tasas* or regulations are still in manuscript at Madrid.

that even now the Indians, although they have become Christians, cannot forget them, but during their work, with tears and loud groans, they call upon them by their names. We do not read that any of the ancient kings in Asia, Africa, or Europe, have ever been so kind and careful of the welfare of their vassals, or so diligent, liberal, and bountiful as the Kings Yncas were to theirs. From these historical facts that we write down, he that reads may understand what were the ancient laws and rights of the Indians of Peru, their customs, ordinances, and manner of life, which was so reasonable that their history ought to be known, in order that they may be converted to the Christian religion with more ease and gentleness."

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW MINISTERS WERE APPOINTED FOR DIFFERENT DUTIES.

Father Blas Valera, proceeding with the subject, places the following title before his next chapter, "How the Yncas appointed the governors and officers for time of peace; how the superintendents and labourers were distributed to different works; how the common and special stores were disposed of; and how tribute was imposed."

"After the Ynca had subjugated any new province, caused its principal idol to be sent to Cuzco, and quieted the minds of his new vassals, he ordered that all the Indians, as well priests and soothsayers as common people, should worship the god *Ticci Huira-ccocha*, otherwise called *Pachacamac*, as the most powerful god, and vanquisher of all other gods. Then he decreed that they should accept the Ynca as king and supreme lord, to be served and obeyed, and that the chiefs should go to court once a year, or once in two years,

in their turn, according to the distance of the province. Hence it was that the city of Cuzco was one of the most populous in the new world. He then ordered that all the inhabitants of the province should be counted, from the children upwards, according to their ages, families, employments, and estates, that all might be noted and recorded on the threads of different colours. The tribute was afterwards imposed with reference to this record, as well as the duties relating to assistance on public works. The different military officers were then chosen, such as generals, masters of the camp, captains, ensigns, serjeants and heads of ten to fifty soldiers. The lesser officers commanded a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand men. The masters of the camp were over from three to five thousand, and the generals led ten thousand and upwards. The latter were called *Hatun Apu*, which means 'Great Captain.' The lords of vassals, who were equivalent to dukes, marquises, and counts, were called *Curacas*, and, as natural lords, they ruled over their people in peace and war. The Curacas had power to make special laws, to divide the tribute, and to provide for their families and all their vassals in times of scarcity, in accordance with the laws and ordinances of the Ynca. The captains of different ranks, though they had no power to make laws, succeeded to their offices by hereditary descent. They did not pay tribute, but were considered exempt, and were maintained from the stores in the royal depôts. But the officers below the rank of captain, who commanded from ten to fifty men, were not free from tribute, not being of noble families. The generals and masters of the camp had the power to appoint the subordinate officers, but when once appointed, they retained their places for life. The tribute they paid was their service in the office of decurions, and their duty was to inspect the fields, and palaces, and the clothes and provisions of the people. Other governors and officials were named by the Yncas, in successive grades, to supervise all

the departments of government, and the exaction of tributes, that all things might be in order through their carefully kept accounts, and that no one might be imposed upon. There were shepherds of different ranks, who had charge of all the llamas, and watched them with such care that not one was ever missing. For they took care to drive away the wild animals, and there were no thieves, so all slept in security. There were also guards for the fields, such as major-domos, superintendents, judges, and inspectors. The duty of all these officials was to see that nothing was wanting in the public or special supplies required for their villages. If anything was wanting, notice was at once given to the governors and Curacas, and even to the King, that it might be supplied. And these ministers, more especially the Ynca, at once attended to the request, for the Ynca desired that his people should not consider him as their king, but as their father, and careful guardian. The judges and inspectors saw that each man performed his allotted portion of work, and was not idle; that the women attended to their household duties, and the nursing of their children, as well as to spinning and weaving for their families; and that the children were obedient to their parents, and assisted in household work. The old people, who were unable to do ordinary work, were employed on useful light labour, such as collecting leaves and straw, lousing themselves, and bringing the lice to the decurions. The work for the blind was to pick the seeds out of the cotton, and to disengrain the maize from the husks. There were certain arts and employments which had their masters, such as workers in gold, silver, and copper, carpenters, masons, quarrymen, lapidaries, and others. Their children learnt the same trades as their fathers. If this system of the Yncas, which was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, had been continued, the Indian people would have been more flourishing, and supplies of food and clothing would have been more abundant among them, and the

preaching of the Gospel would have been more easy. This mischief has been caused by our negligence. The Curacas and Indians, in their meetings and conversations, often murmur against the government of the Spaniards, comparing it with that of the Yncas. I shall relate their sayings on this subject more fully in the ninth chapter of the second book."

So far is from Father Blas Valera, but the passage he refers to is lost. Continuing on the same subject, his Paternity proceeds as follows: "Besides the above there were masters of the art of tilling the ground, hunters of birds, fishers on the rivers and on the sea, weavers, makers of the shoes used by these people, joiners of wood for the royal palaces and public edifices, smiths who made their tools from copper, and many others, all of whom exercised their callings with much diligence. But in our time it is a thing to excite great astonishment to behold how the Indians have forgotten their ancient arts, yet how obstinately they preserve the habits and customs that are still remembered, and how unwillingly they give them up, if the Spanish governors prohibit any of them."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ORDER THEY KEPT IN THEIR PROPERTY, BOTH PUBLIC AND SPECIAL.

"Having conquered a province, assumed the sovereignty over the people, and given them governors and instructors of the idolatry, they proceeded to establish the new order of things. With this object an order was issued to record, by means of their knots, the extent and number of the mountains, pasture lands, mines, salt-works, springs, lakes, rivers,

cotton estates, fruit-trees, and flocks. All these things were counted, measured, and recorded. First those in the whole province, then those of each village, and then those of every inhabitant. The length and breadth of all the arable land was accurately measured, and the yield was calculated. A report was then drawn up in detail of all these things, not for the use of the Ynca, nor for his treasury. These minute details were required that the capabilities of the district, as regards its fertility or barrenness, might be thoroughly ascertained, and that the amount of tribute, and the quantity of labour required from each inhabitant might be calculated. It could then be seen how much help in food and clothing would be wanted in time of war or scarcity. Finally it was ordered that the Indians should be publicly informed of what they would have to do for the service of the Ynca, the Curacas, and the public. Thus neither the vassals could do less than was required from them, nor could the Curacas and officials oppress or overwork them. It was further decreed that, in conformity with the measurement that had been made, boundary marks should be put up to divide one province from another. In order that there might be no confusion in time to come, special names were given to the forests, mountains, plains, springs, and other natural features, and if they already had names, these were retained, with the addition of something new as a distinction. And this is well worthy of remembrance, for we shall presently see whence arose the veneration and respect with which the Indians regard such places. Afterwards they divided the land amongst the villages, and declared that the land measured out as belonging to one village should not in any way be used in common by the people of other villages or provinces. The mines of gold and silver, whether old or newly discovered, were granted to the Curacas, or their relations and vassals for their use; not as treasures, for they despised these metals for that purpose, but to adorn their dresses at the principal

festivals, and to make vases, out of which the chiefs drank. Having obtained what they required, they did not work the mines further, but forgot them; and this is the reason that there were so few miners, while there were innumerable professors of the other arts. The miners did not pay any other tribute than their labour, and they were well supplied with food, clothing, and tools from the royal stores, or from those of their chief, if they worked for him. They were obliged to work for two months, and no more, and this completed their tribute, and they occupied the rest of the year in their own affairs. The whole of the Indians did not labour at these special arts, but only those who had a knowledge of them, who were called metal workers. Copper, which they called *anta*, served them in place of iron for making warlike arms, knives, carpenter's tools, pins for fastening women's cloaks, looking-glasses, spades for digging the ground, and hammers for the plate-workers. For these reasons they valued copper very highly, for it was more useful to them than gold and silver, and the demand for it was greater than for any other metal.

"The salt taken both from salt springs and from the sea; the fish from the sea, springs, and lakes; the fruit from the trees; cotton and aloe leaves, were all sent to the Ynca; for these things were common to all the inhabitants. No one in particular was allowed to appropriate these things for his own use, but each received what he required and no more. Yet every Indian was allowed to plant fruit trees on his own land and enjoy them.

"The arable lands were divided by the Yncas into three parts: the first for the Sun, his temple and ministers; the second for the royal patrimony, from which the governors and officials were maintained, and whence the royal stores were filled; and the third for the inhabitants of each village. Each Indian received a share sufficient to maintain his family. The Ynca made these divisions in every province of his

empire, that in no future time the Indians might be called upon for tribute from their own lands or goods, nor be obliged to contribute either to the aid of their chiefs, or to the public stores of their villages, or to the King himself, or to the temples and priests of the Sun; nor was any one allowed to take payment from them, because provision was made in the distribution for all these demands. The portion of the royal crops that remained, after other demands had been satisfied, was placed in the public stores of each village; that which remained over, on the lands of the Sun, was applied to the use of the lame, blind, aged, and others incapable of work; but this was done after all demands had been fully satisfied for sacrifices that they made, which were many, and for the sustenance of priests and ministers of the temples, who were innumerable."

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THEY PAID THEIR TRIBUTE.—THE AMOUNT OF IT, AND THE LAWS CONCERNING IT.

"Coming to the subject of the tribute which the Yncas, Kings of Peru, collected from their vassals, it must be known that it was so moderate that none of the ancients, not even the great Cæsars, whom they called Augustus and Pius, can be compared to the Kings Yncas in this respect. For, properly speaking, they did not really receive any tribute from their vassals, but the Yncas rather paid the vassals, and imposed a tax on themselves for the good of their people. The amount of tribute, as compared with the reckoning of those times, or to a day's work of a labourer, or to the value of things and the expenses of the government, was very small, and many Indians scarcely paid the value of four reals

of our money. Of course there was occasional inconvenience attached to the payment of tribute and to personal service for the King or the chiefs, yet it was borne cheerfully and contentedly owing, as well to the small amount of the tribute as to the assistance that was given the labourers, and to the numerous advantages that followed such slight labour. The rules and laws in favour of the payers of tribute were inviolably kept, so that neither the judges and governors, nor even the Ynca himself, could break them to the prejudice of a vassal. They were as follows:—the first and principal rule was that any psrson who might be exempt, should never be called upon to pay at any time or under any circumstances. The persons exempt were all those of the blood royal, or generals and captains down to centurions, and their sons and grandsons, all Curacas and their families, all royal officials in subordinate posts (if sprung from the mass of the people) during their terms of office, all soldiers while on active service; and all boys until they were twenty-five years of age, for before that time they had to serve their fathers. All men over fifty years of age were also exempt from tribute; and all women, as well maidens and widows as those who were infirm; all sick persons until they recovered their health; all incapables, such as the blind, lame, and otherwise maimed. But the deaf and dumb were employed on such work as did not require the sense of hearing or the use of speech. The second law was that all other Indians were labourers bound to pay tribute, unless they were priests and ministers in the temples of the Sun, or chosen virgins. The third law was that no Indian, on any pretence whatever, should be called upon to pay anything out of his own property in place of tribute, but that his only payment should be in the form of labour, time, or skill as a workman, devoted to the service of the king or the state. All were equal in this, whether rich or poor, for the one did not pay more nor the other less. They called a man rich when he had children

who helped him to work and so enabled him to complete his amount of tribute more quickly; and he who had none, though rich in other things, was called poor. The fourth law was that no one could be compelled to work at any craft but his own, except the cultivation of the land and the duties of a soldier; for all men were liable to be called upon to perform their shares in those two employments. The fifth law was that each man should pay in such products as his province yielded, without having to seek things from abroad that were not in his own province. For it seemed a great injustice to the Ynca to demand fruits from his vassals, which their own land did not yield. The sixth law decreed that every craftsman who laboured in the service of the Ynca, or his Curacas, should be provided with everything he required in his craft: that is that the smiths should be supplied with silver, gold, or copper; the weaver with wool or cotton; the painter with colours, and so on. In this way the craftsman only gave his labour and the time during which he was obliged to work, which was two months, or at most three. When this period was completed he was not expected to work more, unless it was to complete anything that was not quite finished of his own accord, and in that case his extra time was counted for the coming year, and so noted down on their records of knots. The seventh law ordained that all craftsmen should be supplied with food, clothes, and medicines if they were sick, for themselves alone if they were by themselves, and for their wives and children also if they were helping them. In these divisions of work they did not take account of the time, but of the task to be done, so that if, by the help of his family, a man could finish his two months task in a week, he was free for that year, and could not be called upon for any further tribute. This account will suffice as an answer to those who say that formerly the Indians paid tribute, including all children and mothers. This assertion is false, for women and children did not work as tribute, but

to assist their fathers or husbands. If a man did not wish to employ his family in work, but to do it all himself, his wife and children could occupy themselves at home, and the judges and decurions could not oblige them to work with the men, so long as they were not idle. For this reason a man with a large family was looked upon as very rich in the days of the Yncas; and those who had no children frequently fell ill owing to the long time they were engaged in the task of completing their tribute. A remedy was found even for this, which was that those who were rich in children, and others who had completed their tasks, should help their poorer brethren for one or two days. This law was agreeable to all the Indians.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW THE TRIBUTE WAS COLLECTED.—THE YNCAS SHOWED FAVOUR TO THE CURACAS WHO PRESENTED THEM WITH PRECIOUS GIFTS.

"The eighth law was on the subject of collecting the tribute; for in all things there was a regular order established. At a certain fixed time the official collectors and accountants assembled in the chief village of each province, with the clerks who kept the knots; and, before the Curaca and the Ynca Governor, they made the partitions by the knots and threads, and also by means of little pebbles according to the number of inhabitants. This was all done with such accuracy that I know not to whom to give most praise, whether to the accountants who, without figures, made their calculations as correctly as our arithmeticians can do; or to the governors, who so easily understood the accounts that were placed before them."

"They saw, by the knots, the amount of labour that the Indians had performed, the crafts they had worked at, the roads they had travelled over by order of their superiors, and any other tasks on which they had been employed. All this was deducted from the tribute that was due. Then they showed the collectors and the governor each thing by itself that was stored in the royal depôts, such as the provisions, pepper, clothes, shoes, arms, and all other things that the Indians gave as tribute, down to the gold, silver, precious stones, and copper belonging to the King and the Sun, each item being recorded separately. They also reported what was in store in the depôts of each village. The law ordained that the Ynca governor of the province should have a duplicate of the accounts in his own custody, to check any error on the part either of the collectors or payers of tribute. The ninth law was that the surplus of the tribute, after the royal wants had been satisfied, should be appropriated for the public good, and placed in the store houses to provide against times of scarcity. The Ynca ordered that valuable stores, such as gold and silver, precious stones, feathers of a variety of birds, colours for painting and dyes, copper, and many other things that were presented by the Curacas each year or on each visit, should be devoted to the use of his house, and those of the blood royal, as they might be required; and the surplus was given as presents to the captains and lords of vassals who brought those things. For, though their own lands yielded the precious gifts, they were not themselves allowed to use them, except by permission of the Ynca. From all that has been said it must be clear that the Kings Yncas took the smallest share of the tribute for themselves, and devoted the greater part to the good of their subjects. The tenth law was that which declared the different occupations in which the Indians should be employed, as well in the service of the king, as for the benefit of the community. These duties were im-

posed instead of tribute. They were the mending of the roads, the building or repairing of the temples of the Sun and other religious edifices, the building of public works, such as store-houses, dwellings for officials, the construction of bridges, the performance of the duties of runners called *chasqui*, tilling the ground, getting in the harvests, watching the flocks and the growing crops, and all other public services. Also the erection of houses for travellers on the roads, and of depôts for storing the royal provisions. Besides these, the people were obliged to do other things for the common good, or for the service of the Curacas or the King. But as, in those times, there was such a multitude of Indians, each man had very light work, because their turns were regulated with great exactness, and one never had more to do than another. The Yncas also proclaimed another law, which was that the roads and bridges should be repaired, and the irrigating channels cleaned out once every year. These duties were ordered, by this law, to be performed without recompense, because they were for the common good of the whole empire."

"Other more special laws are not noticed, that the narrative may not become tedious, for those already mentioned are the principal laws relating to the tribute."

So far is from Father Blas Valera. We may now ask a certain historian who says that the Yncas made oppressive laws, obliging their vassals to pay heavy tributes, to tell us which were these oppressive laws? For these, and others that we shall speak of presently, were confirmed by the Kings of Spain of glorious memory, as Father Blas Valera himself affirms.

It will now be well to return to the Prince Huira-ccocha, whom we left involved in great difficulties, defending the majesty and honour of his ancestors, and his own.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE YNCA UIRA-CCOCHA RECEIVES TIDINGS OF HIS ENEMIES; AND OF THE AID THAT COMES TO HIM.

The great deeds of the Ynca Uira-ccocha oblige us to leave other matters, and to treat of them. We said, at the end of the history of his father, that, leaving him in Muyna, the Prince returned to Cuzco, called together the people that were wandering without a leader, and marched out of the city to receive his enemies and die fighting, rather than endure the sight of the profanities and desecrations they would commit in the temples of the Sun, the convents of the chosen virgins, and throughout that city, which was looked upon as sacred.

It must now be explained that, about half-a-league north of the city, there is a great plain. There the Prince Ynca-Uira-ccocha waited for the people that were coming to him from Cuzco, after they had been recalled from their flight over the country. He had with him more than eight thousand men of war, all Yncas resolved to die with their Prince. Tidings reached the Prince that the rebels had crossed the great river of Apurimac, and were within nine or ten leagues of the city. Two days after this bad news arrived, there came tidings in favour of the Yncas, that nearly twenty thousand men of war were coming to their aid from the parts of Cunti-suyu, about twenty leagues away, being people of the Quechua, Catapampa, Cotanera, Aymara, and other nations who bordered on the territory of the rebels in that direction.

The Quechuas, although the rebels had taken pains to conceal their intentions, became acquainted with their designs because their lands bordered on those of the Chancas. As the time was short, they resolved not to apprise the Ynca

and wait his orders, but they assembled all the men they could get together, and marched towards the city of Cuzco to assist their King if it was possible, and if not to die with him. For these were the people that had voluntarily submitted to the rule of the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, as we related in the account of his reign, and to show their love for the Yncas, they came now to assist them. They all did this for their own benefit, and on account of the hatred that had existed for many years between the Quechuas and Chancas, and that they might escape from again falling under the yoke of their enemies. In order that their enemies the Chancas might not reach the city before them, they strove to encounter them to the north of it; and so it fell out that friends and enemies arrived almost at the same time.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha and his friends rejoiced to hear that such assistance was approaching at a time when it was so much needed, and they ascribed it to the promise that the apparition in the form of his uncle had made to the Prince, when it appeared to him in a dream and said that it would help him in all his difficulties as his own flesh and blood, and bring him the succour that he might require. The Prince remembered these words when this help appeared so opportunely, and he often quoted them to his followers, saying that he had the favour of his god Uira-ccocha, who had thus fulfilled his promise. This so cheered the Yncas that they made certain of victory, and they had even resolved to advance and receive their enemies, and encounter them in the hills and difficult passes that exist between the river Apurimac and the height of Villacunca* (for they would gain an advantage by occupying that height).

But, knowing that succour was approaching, it was finally decided that they would await the arrival of their friends,

* Probably a misprint for Vilca-cunca (*Vilca* or *Huilca*, "sacred," and *Cunca*, a "neck"). Cieza de Leon calls it Vilcaconga.

and thus get some rest and refreshment before the enemy should come in sight. It also seemed good to the Prince and his councillors that, as their forces were increasing, they should not go far from the city, where the provisions and other supplies necessary for an army were stored. By adopting this course also they could quickly extend help to the city, if it was threatened with any danger. Owing to this resolution the Prince Ynca Uira-ccocha remained on that plain until his friends joined him, who numbered twelve thousand fighting men. The Prince received them with much joy because of the love they had shown him, and gave rich presents to the Curacas and other officers of each nation, praising their loyalty, and offering them rewards for such signal service. The Curacas, after they had done homage to their Ynca Uira-ccocha, declared that five thousand more fighting men were only two days' journey behind, but that, in order to join their Prince as soon as possible, they had not waited for them. The Prince again rejoiced at the arrival of both the one and the other army, and, having consulted his relations, he desired the Curacas to send notice to those who were coming of what had passed, and that the Prince was waiting on the plain for his enemies, and to instruct them to march quickly to certain hills and ravines in the vicinity, there to conceal themselves until the hostile forces approached. If the rebels offered battle, they were to attack them on one side in the heat of the fight so as to defeat them with greater ease; and if the rebels would not endure an encounter, they would still have done their duty as good soldiers. Two days after the arrival of the reinforcements, the vanguard of the enemy was descried from the top of the pass of Rimac-Tampu.* The rebels, knowing that the Ynca Uira-ccocha was now within five leagues of them, passed the word that

* Now called Limatambo. It is a town, containing the ruins of an ancient palace, eight leagues from the bridge over the Apurimac. It is also six leagues from the plain on which the Ynca was encamped.

their main body and rearguard should close up and join the vanguard. Thus they marched during that day, and arrived together at Sacsahuana,* three leagues and a-half from the position of the Ynca, and the spot where the battle between Gonzalo Pizarro and La Gasca afterwards took place.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A VERY BLOODY BATTLE, AND OF THE STRATAGEM BY WHICH IT WAS WON.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha sent messages to the enemy at Sacsahuana, offering peace and friendship, and pardon for the past. But the Chancas, having heard that the Ynca Yahuar-huaccac had left the city and fled, although they also knew that his son the Prince was resolved to defend it, and that the messages were from him, would not entertain them (in conformity with their pride), as it seemed to these rebels that, as the father had fled, the son was not to be feared, and that the victory would be theirs. Influenced by these hopes, they sent away these messengers without hearing them. Early next morning they marched from Sacsahuana on the road to Cuzco, but, although they made all possible haste, as they had to march in formed squadrons and in order of battle, they were unable to reach the position of the Prince before night. They, therefore, halted at a distance of a quarter of a league in front of it. The Ynca Uira-ccocha sent other messengers with the same offers of pardon

* Cieza de Leon calls it *Xaquixaguana*. He describes the plain and its associations. See page 320 of my Translation. It is now called the plain of Surite. It is surrounded by mountains with terraces rising tier above tier, upon them. It is swampy, and is crossed by a causeway, two leagues long, built of stone.

and friendship. The Chancas had not chosen to hear the first messengers. They received the second messages after they had encamped, and contemptuously replied that it would be seen next day who was worthy to be King, and who was able to grant pardons.

After this defiance the two armies were on the watch all night with sentries posted. At daybreak the squadrons armed themselves and marched against each other with loud cries and shouts, and the sound of trumpets and shells. The Ynca Uira-ccocha advanced in front of his whole army, and was the first to hurl the missile he carried against the enemy, presently engaging in a most gallant encounter. The Chancas, assured of the victory they had promised themselves, fought obstinately. The Yncas fought with equal resolution to free their Prince from insult and death. The battle continued to rage with desperate fury until noon, and there was a terrible slaughter without decided advantage on either side. But at noon the five thousand Indians who had been ordered to conceal themselves, suddenly appeared and attacked the rebels furiously on their right flank. As they were fresh and delivered their charge with great force, they did much harm to the Chancas and forced them to fall back several paces. But, recovering from their first shock, the rebels returned to regain their lost ground, and fought with desperate fury, being enraged to see how long it took them to gain the victory of which they had made sure.

After this second assault, they fought more than two long hours without any apparent advantage on either side, but then they began to waver. For every hour fresh men joined the army of the Yncas, being those that fled from the city, and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts who, having heard that the Prince had returned to defend the house of the Sun, collected together in bodies of fifty or one hundred, and came to die with their Prince. These new men entered the battle with loud shouts, and made a noise quite out of

proportion to their numbers. The Chancas began to despair of victory when they beheld the arrival of these reinforcements, whose numbers they thought to be greater than they really were, and from that time they fought more to seek death than in the hope of victory. The Yncas, being a people who strove to magnify their deeds by fables and false pretensions, seeing these new friends, resolved not to lose the occasion, but to turn it to advantage as was their custom. They cried out that the very stones and bushes of the plain were turning into men, and coming to fight in the service of the Prince, because the Sun and the god Uiracocha had so ordered it. The Chancas, being a credulous people, were much amazed by this fable; and afterwards it was believed by all the common people throughout that empire, as Father Friar Geronimo Roman says in the 11th Chapter of the 2nd Book of his *Republic of the Western Indies*. Speaking of this battle he writes, word for word, as follows:—"So that the field remained in the power of the Ynca. To this day all the Indians declare, in speaking of this famous battle, that the stones in the plain turned into men to fight for them, and that all this was done by the Sun to fulfil the promise that he had given to the brave Pachacuti Ynca Yupanqui, a name by which this valorous youth was also known." So far is from that learned inquirer concerning republics, who in the chapter above quoted, and in the following one, briefly touches upon many things which we have been writing about concerning the Kings Yncas. Father Acosta also writes concerning the apparition Uiracocha, though he makes mistakes about the names of the kings of that time. He alludes to this battle of the Chancas, and to other things that we shall relate concerning this prince. But his narrative is confused, as are nearly all the accounts that the Spaniards obtain from the Indians, owing to the difficulty of the language, and because the memorials of the traditions of these events are now lost. The Indians

relate the substance of them confusedly, without regard to order or time. But as he has written something on this subject, I am much inclined to insert here what he says, that it may be seen that I do not invent these things, but that my relations fancied them, and that the Spaniards also received accounts of them, though not in their long clothes and with their milk as I did.

His paternity then writes as follows. I have taken it word for word from the 22nd Chapter* of his 6th Book:— "Pachacuti Ynca Yupanqui reigned sixty years, and was a great conqueror. His chief victory was in this wise: his elder brother held the government in the lifetime of his father, and conducted a war by his desire, in which he was defeated in a battle he fought with the Chancas, a nation occupying the valley of Andahuaylas, about thirty leagues from Cuzco, on the road to Lima. After his defeat he fled with a few followers. Seeing this, his brother Ynca Yupanqui, to make himself lord, appeared and said that when he was alone and in deep dejection, the Uira-ccocha creator had spoken to him, complaining that He, being the universal lord and creator of all things, and having made the heavens, the sun, the earth, and men, and all being subject to his power, yet they did not give him due obedience, but equally venerated the sun, the thunder, the earth, and other things which have no virtue beyond what He had given them. He also declared that in the heaven where He was, they called him Uira-ccocha Pachayachachic, which means universal Creator.† In order that the prince might believe that this was true, the God told him that he must not doubt but that, even if he was alone, he could make men by calling upon his name; and that though the Chancas were so many and were victorious, He would give the prince a victory over them

* It should be the 21st chapter.

† The true meaning of this word is "Teacher of the World;" from *yachachini*, "I teach," and *pacha*, "the world." See vol. i, p. 109.

and make him lord, dethroning his father and brother. From the time of that victory Huira-ccocha was held to be the universal lord, and it was considered that the statues of the sun and of thunder ought to do him reverence. From that time also they placed the statue of Uira-ccocha in a higher place than those of the sun, of thunder, and of the other *Huacas*. And though this Ynca Yupanqui portioned out estates and lands and flocks for the sun, for thunder, and for the other *Huacas*, he set nothing apart for the Uira-ccocha, giving for a reason that, being universal Lord and Creator, he required nothing. As soon as he had gained the victory over the Chancas, he announced to his soldiers that they had not conquered their enemies, but that the victory had been gained by certain bearded men sent by the Uira-ccoche who were visible to none but himself, and that they had afterwards been turned into stones. He then began to seek for them, saying that he would know them. Thus they collected a great quantity of stones near the mountains which he selected, and looked upon them as *Huacas*, worshipping them and offering them sacrifices. They called them *Pururaucas*,* and took them to the war with much devotion, holding that victory was certain with their assistance. This fable and invention of that Ynca was the cause of his famous victories, &c."†

Thus far is from Father Acosta, and it would seem from what his paternity says, that the fable was the same as the one I heard. But that they placed a statue of Uira-ccocha higher than that of the sun is a new invention of the Indians,

* A corrupt word. *Puru* means "false," and *raucani* is "to weed." *Raucana* is "a spud."

† Acosta goes on to say that this Ynca founded the family called Ynacapanaca, and made a statue of gold called Indijllapa (a corrupt word, from *ynti* "the sun," and *yllapa* "lightning"), which was placed on certain frames of gold, most of which were brought to Caxamarca for the ransom of Atahualpa. Acosta then gives an account of the discovery of this Ynca's body, which Garcilasso also mentions further on.

to flatter the Spaniards by insinuating that they gave the name of God a higher and more revered position. This was not so, for they never had more than two gods, which were Pachacamac, who was invisible and unknown, and the Sun, who was visible and notorious. They held that Uira-ccocha and the other Yncas were children of the Sun.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GENEROSITY OF THE PRINCE YNCA UIRA-CCOCHA AFTER THE VICTORY.

The Yncas, seeing that the rebels were giving ground, called upon the name of their uncle the apparition Ynca Uira-ccocha, for so they called the prince, and charged with renewed fury, finally routing the enemy. They killed a vast number, and the few that remained turned their backs and fled. The prince, after joining in the pursuit for a time, gave orders that the flying rebels should be spared, as they were now conquered. He then traversed the plain where the battle had been, and ordered the wounded to be collected and cured, and the dead to be buried. He then issued his commands that the prisoners should be set free and be allowed to return to their own country, saying that he pardoned them all. The battle, having been so hardly won and having lasted for eight hours, was very bloody. The Indians declare that, besides the blood that was shed on the ground, a dry bed of a stream that crossed the plain also flowed with blood; hence the plain was called from that time forward *Yahuar-pampa*, which means "the field of blood." More than 30,000 Indians died, 8000 on the side of the Ynca, and the rest belonging to the Nations Chanca, Hanco-huallu, Urumarca, Vilca, Untun-sulla, and others.

The two rebel masters of the camp, and the general, Hanco-huallu, were made prisoners. Hanco-huallu was slightly wounded, so the prince ordered him to be cured with great care, and all three were retained to grace the triumph which was contemplated. An uncle of the prince, a few days after the battle, severely rebuked these prisoners for having dared to insult the children of the Sun, whom he said were invincible, seeing that even the stones and shrubs were converted into men to fight for them, because their father the Sun had so ordered it. The old Ynca added that this had been witnessed in the battle, and that it would be seen again in any other battle in which the rebels liked to try the experiment. He repeated other fables in glorification of the Yncas, and concluded by saying that the Sun ought to receive thanks for having ordered his children to treat their enemies with pity and clemency. For this reason, he said, the lives of the prisoners were spared by the prince, as well as those of all the other rebel Curacas, although they deserved a cruel death; and he urged upon them that henceforth they ought to be good vassals, unless they wanted to be chastised by the Sun, who could order the stones to turn into men. The Curacas, with much humility, offered up thanks for the mercy they had received, and promised to be loyal subjects.

After this great victory the Ynca Uira-ccocha despatched three messengers. He sent one to the temple of the Sun to make known the victory that had been gained through his assistance and favour, as if he had not seen it. For these Yncas, although they held the Sun to be god, treated him as if he had been a man like themselves. Among other things that they did to him in his supposed character of a man was to drink with him, and they poured the Sun's drink into a half *tinajon** of gold, which they placed in the court where they held their festivals, or in the temple. They

* Jar.

declared that what appeared to be gone had been drunk by the Sun, and they said truly, for the Sun's heat had evaporated the liquor. They also put out plates of meat that the Sun might eat. And when a great event happened, like this victory, they sent a special messenger to tell the Sun what had happened, and to offer up thanks to him. In accordance with this ancient custom, the prince Uira-ccocha Ynca sent a messenger to the Sun with the news of the victory, and with orders to the priests to get together those who had fled, that they might offer up thanksgivings and make new sacrifices. He sent another messenger to the virgins dedicated to the Sun, with the news of the victory which had been granted in return for their prayers and merits. Another messenger, called *chasqui*, was sent to the Ynca, the prince's father, giving him an account of all that had happened, and requesting that he would not remove himself from the place where he then was until the prince came to him.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRINCE CONTINUES THE PURSUIT OF THE REBELS, RETURNS TO CUZCO, AND DETHRONES HIS FATHER.

Having despatched the messengers, the prince ordered 6,000 soldiers to be selected to accompany him in the pursuit; and the rest were dismissed to their homes, with a promise of reward to the Curacas for their services. He named two of his uncles as masters of the camp, who continued in attendance upon him. Two days after the battle he marched in pursuit of the enemy, not to punish them, but to disabuse them of the fear they felt that they would be punished. He ordered all the fugitives he overtook,

whether wounded or not, to be given presents, while the prisoners were ordered to return to their villages and say that the Ynca had pardoned and reassured them, and that there was no occasion for fear. Having taken these precautions, he marched rapidly, and when he arrived at the province of Anta-huaylla, which is the territory of the Chancas, the women and children came forth to meet him with green boughs, rejoicing and saying, "Sole lord, child of the Sun, friend of the poor, have mercy upon us and pardon us."

The prince received them with much kindness, and ordered them to be told that their misfortune was the fault of their husbands and fathers, and that all the rebels had been pardoned, but that the prince had come to visit them, that they might receive more satisfaction by hearing this from his own mouth, and be relieved of the fear that their fault had caused them. He ordered them also to be given all that they required, and to be treated with love and charity, special care being taken for the comfort of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the battle of Yahuar-pampa.

In a very short time the prince marched through all the provinces that had rebelled, and having placed governors and garrisons in them, he returned to the city, and entered it just one month (according to the Indians) after he had set out from it, for they reckon the months by the moons. The Indians, both the loyal and those who had rebelled, were astonished to behold the kindness and piety of the prince, which they had scarcely hoped from the ruggedness of his disposition. They had rather feared that after the victory he would have committed a fearful massacre. They declared that his father the Sun had changed his disposition, and caused it to resemble that of his ancestors. But the truth is rather that the desire of honour and fame is strong enough in noble minds to supply force whereby natural evil inclinations are repressed; as was the case with the prince, who

thus left the good name which was afterwards revered among his people.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha entered Cuzco on foot, to show that he was more a soldier than a king. He marched down by the descent on the side of Carmenca,* surrounded by his warriors, with his two uncles, who were masters of the camp, one on either side, and the prisoners behind. He was received with great rejoicing and loud acclamations from the crowds of people. The old Yncas came out to meet him and adore him as child of the Sun, and after having made the due obeisance, they fell in amongst the soldiers to participate in the triumph, declaring that they desired to be young again, to fight under such a leader. His mother, the Ccoya Mama Chich-ya, and the women who were most nearly related to him, such as sisters, aunts, and first and second cousins, with a vast number of Pallas, also came out to meet him, with festive songs and rejoicings. Some embraced him, others wiped the sweat from his face, others brushed off the dust from his clothes, and others gave him flowers and sweet herbs. In this way the prince advanced until he came to the house of the Sun, which he entered barefooted, according to their custom, to give thanks for his victory. Then he went to visit the chosen virgins. Having made these two visits, he left the city to visit his father, who was still at the Angostura de Muyna, where his son had left him.

The Ynca Yahuar-huaccac did not receive the prince his son with great rejoicing and satisfaction at his having achieved so great and wonderful a victory, but with a grave and melancholy countenance, as if there had been more cause for sorrow than for joy. This reception may have been the result either of jealousy at the great success of his son, or of shame for his own fear and pusillanimity at having deserted his post, and left the house of the Sun, the chosen virgins, and the

* Then called *Huaca-puncu* or "the holy gate." Carmenca is the Spanish name.

imperial city to their fate. It is not known which of these feelings caused his grief, or whether it was caused by both combined.

Few words passed between father and son at the first public interview, but they afterwards conversed at great length in private. The Indians do not relate the tenor of the conversation, but it was supposed to be on the question whether the father or the son should reign, for afterwards the prince resolved that his father, who had abandoned Cuzco to its fate, should not return to it. Ambition and the desire to reign is a passion so strongly implanted in the breasts of princes, that they are ready to embrace any pretext to gratify it, and this one sufficed for Uira-ccocha to deprive his father of the throne. The determination of the son was adopted by the court, which was the head of the kingdom, to avoid scandals and civil wars, and, above all, because there was no use in resisting, so all that the prince desired was agreed to. In accordance with this resolution they presently erected a palace between the Angostura de Muyna and Quespicancha, in a pleasant spot (as is all that valley), and surrounded it with all the delights and pleasures that could be imagined, such as orchards, gardens, hunting grounds, and fish ponds. For the river of Yucay passes near this palace on the east side, and many streams fall into it.

Having approved the plan of the palace, the ruins of which may still be seen,* the Prince Ynca Uira-ccocha returned to the city, put aside the yellow fringe, and adopted the red one. But though he wore the red fringe himself, he never would consent that his father should leave it off, caring little for the outward insignia, so long as he possessed the reality of dominion and power. As soon as the palace was finished it was supplied with servants and all other necessaries, so that, except the government of the kingdom, the Ynca Yahuar-

* These ruins, called *Rumi-colca*, may still be seen on the side of the road between Cuzco and Quespicanchi.

huaccac was deprived of no other thing. The poor king passed the rest of his life in this solitude, deprived of his kingdom by his own son, and banished to the country to live with the animals, as had been the fate of that same son a few years before.

The Indians say that this dethronement was prognosticated by the evil omen of his having wept blood in his childhood. They also say, reasoning amongst themselves, and recalling the memory of past events, that if this Ynca, when he began to fear the disposition of his son, had resorted to the remedy of giving him a little poison (according to the custom of tyrants, which was practised by the sorcerers in some of the provinces of that empire) he would not have been dethroned. Others, defending the conduct of the prince, but not denying the evil he did to his father, say that if his father had fallen into the hands of the enemy still worse would have befallen him. Having turned his back and deserted his city, the enemy would have taken away his life, his kingdom, and the inheritance of his sons. Their all would have been lost if the state had not been saved by the valour and courage of the prince. Others, praising all their kings together, said that this unfortunate one never thought of the remedy of poison, because all his predecessors would rather have died than have used it. Others, who were held to be religious, and highly extolled the nobility and generosity of their Yncas, said that even if the use of poison had been thought of it would not have been resorted to, because it would have been a deed unworthy of the Yncas, children of the Sun, to give poison to their sons, when the vassals were forbidden to give it to strangers. After this fashion they said many similar things in their conversations, each one giving his opinion; and with this we will leave the Ynca "Weep-blood," and speak no more of him.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE NAME OF UIRA-CCOCHA, AND OF THE REASON THEY APPLIED IT TO THE SPANIARDS.

Returning to the prince, it must be understood that they called him Uira-ccocha Ynca, or Ynca Uira-ccocha, for it is all the same, on account of his vision. The word Ynca means the same, whether it is put first or last. The prince is said to have had hair on his face, while the Indians are usually beardless, and he wore his clothes down to his feet, which is different from the usual custom of the Indians, whose clothes only come down to their knees. Hence it was that they called the first Spaniards who entered Peru Uira-ccocha, because they wore beards, and were clothed from head to foot, and also because, as soon as they arrived, they seized and killed the tyrant Atahualpa, who a little before had slain the legitimate heir Huasca, and had committed the cruelties on the members of the royal family, which we shall describe further on, without respecting sex or age. For these reasons the Indians gave the name of Uira-ccocha to the Spaniards, saying that they were sons of their god, Uira-ccocha, who had sent them from heaven to rescue the Yncas and liberate the city of Cuzco and the whole empire from the tyranny and cruelty of Atahualpa; in the same way as Uira-ccocha himself had done before, in appearing to the prince Ynca Uira-ccocha, and showing him how to crush the rebellion of the Chancas. They also said that the Spaniards had put the tyrant to death, as a punishment and to avenge the Yncas; and that the god Uira-ccocha, the father of the Spaniards, had ordered them to do it. This is the reason they called the first Spaniards by the name of Uira-ccocha, and, believing they were sons of their god, they respected them so much that they almost worshipped them, and scarcely made any resistance to the conquest, as we shall see

when we come to the conquest of that kingdom. Six Spaniards by themselves (among whom were Hernando de Soto and Pedro del Barco) penetrated as far as from Caxamarca to Cuzco, and travelled over two hundred or three hundred leagues of road, to view the riches of that city and others; and they were carried in litters and treated with great respect. They also called the Spaniards Yncas and children of the Sun, like their own kings. If to this vain belief of the Indians the Spaniards had replied by saying that the true God had sent them to deliver the Indians from the tyranny of the devil, which was greater than that of Atahualpa, and if they had preached the Holy Gospel and had set the example that it teaches, there can be no doubt that such teaching would have yielded very rich fruit. But all things fell out very differently, as their own historians relate, to whom I refer my readers; for it is not allowed for me to speak on this subject, because it would be said that I spoke with prejudice, being an Indian. It is true, however, that it is not right to condemn all, for several acted as good Christians; but, among so simple a people as these Indians, it is easier to pull down one bad thing, than to build up a hundred good ones.

The Spanish historians, without exception, say that the Indians gave the name of Uira-ccocha to the Spaniards because they came from beyond the sea. They say that the word Uira-ccocha means "foam of the sea;" being composed of the words *uira* which means "foam," and *ccocha* "the sea." They are as much mistaken in the composition as in the meaning of the words; for, according to the composition given by the Spaniards, the words would mean "a sea of grease." *Uira* properly signifies "grease," and with the addition of *ccocha*, "the sea," it would be "a sea of grease." For in this and other compounds of a nominative and a genitive, the Indians always place the genitive first. Hence it is clear that it is not a compound

word, but simply the name of that apparition which declared it was to be called Uira-ccocha, and which was a child of the Sun. I have written this for the curious, who may like to understand the meaning of a word in such common use, and how much those have misunderstood the language of Peru, who have not sucked it in with their milk, in that very city of Cuzco, Indians though they may be. For those who are not natives of Cuzco, are as much strangers to, and as ignorant of, the language as the Spaniards themselves. Besides the above reasons for calling the Spaniards Uira-ccocha, there was another which referred to the guns and cannons they brought with them. Father Blas Valera, in explaining the meaning of this word, says that it means the will and power of God, not because that is the signification of the word Uira-ccocha, but because of the godlike qualities that the Indians ascribed to the apparition which they adored only second to the Sun, while the King Yncas, who were also held to be gods, came after him.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha obtained such a reputation among his relations and vassals, as well on account of his vision as by reason of the victory, that they adored him as a new god during life, who had been sent by the Sun to renovate those of his blood, that they might not be lost; and as the saviour of the imperial city, the house of the Sun, and the virgins, that they might not be destroyed by their enemies. They, therefore, showed new and greater respect and adoration to him than to any of his ancestors, seeing in him a new and greater deity than in them; for such strange and wonderful things had happened to him. And though the Ynca wished to teach the Indians not to worship him, but only his uncle who had appeared to him, he was unable to succeed. It was understood that both should be worshipped equally, and in naming either of them, as they both had the same name, it was understood that both were intended. And the Ynca

Uira-ccocha, to show greater honour to his uncle the apparition, built a temple, as we shall relate further on.

We may suppose that the devil, as the great master of evil, caused the vision to appear to the Prince while he was sleeping, or that he appeared to the Prince when he was awake in that shape, for it is not certain whether the Prince was asleep or awake. The Indians at first were inclined to affirm that he was not asleep but watching, and reclining under the rock. The enemy of mankind may well have arranged it in this way to increase the credit and fame of the idolatry of the Yncas. For, as he saw that their dominion was established, and that the Yncas were the lawgivers of the vain laws and superstitions of their heathenry, he would make these representations, and others related by the Indians, that they might believe and look upon the Yncas as gods, and obey them as such. This apparition appeared, declaring itself to be a child of the Sun and brother of the Ynca; and as the rebellion of the Chancas and their defeat followed, the Ynca remained in great authority and credit, and became an oracle to order and command the Indians henceforth, as he pleased. This is the wonderful god Uira-ccocha, whom some of the historians declare to have been looked upon by the Indians as their chief god, and to have been worshipped more than the Sun. But this is a false account which the Indians related to flatter the Spaniards, by saying that they had given them the name of their principal god. For it is certain that they had no deity more important than the Sun (unless it were Pachacamac, the unknown God). They said that the chief Spaniards were children of the Sun, to make gods of them, just as they said they were sons of the apparition Uira-ccocha.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE YNCA UIRA-CCOCHA ORDERS A TEMPLE TO BE BUILT IN HONOUR OF HIS UNCLE THE APPARITION.

In order to do honour to his vision, and to perpetuate the memory of it among the people, the Ynca Uira-ccocha ordered a temple to be built to the phantom that had appeared to him, in a village called Cacha, which is sixteen leagues to the south of the city of Cuzco.* He gave directions that the building, so far as was practicable, should be in imitation of the place where the apparition had appeared to him. It was, therefore, built open and without a roof, to resemble the open plain. A small chapel, covered with stones, was built in imitation of the overhanging rock under which the Ynca was reclining. It had an upper storey raised above the ground-floor, on a plan quite different from that of every other Indian building. For they never built a house with an upper storey. The temple was one hundred and twenty feet long and eighty broad, and was of smooth masonry, the stones being beautifully cut, as are all those in the buildings of the Yncas. It had four doors facing the four quarters of the heavens. Three were closed, and were merely false doorways placed there to give symmetry to the walls. The eastern door was used as an entrance to the temple. It was in the centre of the façade. As the Indians did not understand how to make a vault to support an upper storey, they cut blocks from the quarry to serve as supports, because they were more durable than wood. They were placed at intervals, leaving a space of seven feet between each, and the blocks themselves were three feet in thickness. These walls formed twelve lanes, which were closed above by slabs (instead of planks) twelve feet long by

* In the valley of the Vilca-mayu, on the road from Cuzco to Puno.

half a *vara*, polished on all their sides. Entering by the door of the temple, they turned down the first lane to the right until the wall on the right hand side of the temple was reached. Then they turned down the second lane until they reached the other wall. Then they turned down the third lane, and so on (according to the spaces on the plan) until they came to the twelfth lane at the other end, where there was a staircase leading to the upper storey of the temple.

At the end of each lane there was a small window which gave sufficient light, and under each window there was a recess where a porter was seated, without taking up any of the space in the passage. The staircase was double, so that people could go up or down on either side. At the top the chief altar faced the staircase. The floor of the upper storey was composed of very brightly polished black flag-stones, looking like jet, which were brought from very distant lands. In the place of the high altar there was a chapel, twelve feet deep, covered in with the same black flags, which were made to overlap each other. This was the most admirable part of the work. Within the chapel, in the thickness of the wall of the temple, there was a sanctuary containing the image of the apparition Uira-ccocha. On either side there were two other sanctuaries with nothing in them, for they merely served as ornaments to give symmetry to the building. The walls of the temple rose for three *varas* above the floor of the upper storey, and contained no window. They had a cornice of carved stone both inside and out, on all four sides. There was a great pedestal in the recess within the chapel, on which was placed the stone image, made by order of the Ynca Uira-ccocha, in the same shape as he declared the apparition had appeared to him.

The image represented a man of good stature, with a long beard measuring more than a *palmo*, in a wide loose robe like a cassock, reaching to the feet. It held a strange animal of an unknown shape, with the claws of a lion, with a chain

round its neck, and the end of it in the hand of the statue. All this was carved out of stone, and as the sculptors had never seen the figure they had to carve, nor a picture of it, the Ynca himself dressed like it many times, and he would not consent that any other person should do so, that there might be no appearance of disrespect for the image of his god Uira-ccocha, by allowing anyone but the king himself to represent him. Thus highly did they esteem their false gods!

The statue resembled the images of our most blessed apostles, and especially that of St. Bartholomew, who is painted with a demon chained at his feet, like the figure of the Ynca Uira-ccocha with the unknown animal. The Spaniards, after seeing this temple and the statue with the form that has been described, wanted to make out that St. Bartholomew might have travelled as far as Peru to preach to the gentiles, and that the Indians had made this statue in memory of the event. The mestizos, natives of Cuzco, about thirty years ago formed a brotherhood into which Spaniards were not admitted, and in which they got up festivals at some expense. They adopted the blessed apostle as their guardian, saying that as, whether falsely or not, he was said to have preached in Peru, they would adopt him as their guardian. Some malicious Spaniards, seeing the smart clothes they wore on these occasions, said that they were doing honour to their Ynca Uira-ccocha, and not to the apostle.

The reason why the Ynca Uira-ccocha ordered this temple to be built at Cacha, and not at Chita, where the apparition appeared, or in Yahuar-pampa, where he gained the victory over the Chancas, both places being more appropriate than Cacha, is not known to the Indians, except that it was the will of the Ynca. The Spaniards have destroyed this temple, although it was built on so curious a plan, as they have destroyed many other famous works that they found in Peru,

which they ought to have preserved, that in future times people might behold the great works that the conquerors had obtained by their prowess and good fortune. But it would rather appear that they destroyed them out of envy, and levelled them with the ground, so that now there are scarcely any vestiges of this work, nor of other similar edifices, a thing which thoughtful persons have deeply deplored. The chief reason which moved the Spaniards to pull down this and other buildings, was that they thought there must be treasure under them. The first thing they pulled down was the statue, because they believed there was much gold buried under its feet. The temple was then destroyed, first one part being thrown down, then another, until the whole was in ruins. The statue of stone continued to exist for some years, though disfigured by the stones that had been hurled against it.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF A FAMOUS PAINTING, AND OF THE REWARDS GIVEN TO THE ALLIES.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha was so proud of his deeds, and of the special devotion that the Indians felt for him, that, not content with the famous work of the temple, he made another memorial which was beautiful and graceful; but not less satirical as regarded his father than pointedly for his own glorification. The Indians declare, however, that it was not executed until his father was dead. On a very high rock near the place where his father stopped when he fled from Cuzco to escape the Chancas, the Ynca ordered two birds to be painted, such as the Indians call *cuntur*,

* Cieza de Leon mentions the ancient building at Cacha, but says that it was built by Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. See my Translation, p. 357.

which are so large that many have been seen to measure five *varas* from point to point of the wings. They are very fierce birds of prey, but nature, the common mother of all, to temper their ferocity, deprived them of talons, and gave them feet like those of a fowl. On the other hand their beaks are so strong and sharp that with one blow they can pierce the hide of a cow, and two of these birds will attack and kill a cow, as if they had been wolves. They are black and white, like magpies. The Ynca ordered two such birds to be painted, the one with closed wings and drooping head, in the way birds settle themselves, however fierce they may be, when they wish to hide, with its front towards Colla-suyu, and its back to Cuzco; the other, on the contrary, had its front turned to Cuzco, and looked fierce, with wings displayed as if it were flying, and about to capture some prey. The Indians said that one condor was intended for his father, who fled from Cuzco, and went to hide in the Collao, and that the other represented the Ynca Uira-ccocha, who returned flying to defend Cuzco and the whole empire.

This painting was still in good preservation in the year 1580, and in 1595 I asked a creole priest who came from Peru to Spain whether he had seen it, and in what condition it was? He replied that it was much worn out, and that scarcely anything could be distinguished; time, the dripping of water, and want of care to preserve this and other antiquities, having caused its destruction.

As the Ynca Uira-ccocha now found himself absolute lord over the whole empire, beloved and revered by his subjects, and looked upon as a god, he resolved to establish his rule, and attend to the ease, quiet, and good government of his people, at the commencement of his reign. The first thing he did was to reward those who had come to his aid in the late rebellion, especially the Quechuas of Cotapampa and Cotanera, who, as the chief leaders of the succouring force, were ordered to have the privilege of going with their heads

shaved, with the *llautu* as an ornament, and the ears bored like those of the Yncas, though the size of the ear-hole was limited in accordance with the rule adopted by the Ynca Manco Ccapac, when he granted this favour to his first vassals.*

The Ynca granted other privileges and favours to the other tribes, insomuch that they all remained content and satisfied. He then visited his provinces, because the sight of him was desired by all the people who had heard the wonders that were related of him. Having passed some years in making these journeys, he returned to Cuzco, where, with the advice of his councillors, he resolved to conquer those great provinces called Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi, and Chicha;† which his father had left unsubdued, when he tried to cure the bad disposition of his son, as we have already stated. With this object the Ynca Uira-ccocha ordered that 30,000 men should be assembled in Colla-suyu and Cunti-suyu, in the following summer. He nominated one of his brothers, named Pahuac Mayta Ynca, as captain-general. The word means "He who flies" Mayta Ynca, so called because he excelled all others of his time in swiftness; and they placed the word denoting this natural gift before his own name.

He appointed four Yncas as councillors to his brother, and masters of the camp. They set out from the city of Cuzco, and collecting the troops on the road, marched to the above named provinces. Two of them, Chicha and Ampara, were inhabited by people who worshipped the great chain of snowy mountains for its grandeur and beauty, and the rivers which flowed from them, because they irrigated the fields. There were a few slight skirmishes, more with the object, on the part of the enemy, of trying their strength like warriors, than to make open war upon the Yncas. For their renown, owing to the great reputation caused by the deeds of the Ynca

* See vol. i, p. 85.

† In the south of the present republic of Bolivia.

Uira-ccocha, was such that no tribe was powerful enough to offer resistance. For this reason they annexed these great provinces to the empire of the Yncas with more ease, and with less danger and loss of life than was at first anticipated, for the people were warlike, and the country was populous. Nevertheless three years were spent in the reduction and conquest of these provinces.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE NEW PROVINCES WHICH THE YNCA SUBDUED; AND CONCERNING A CHANNEL FOR IRRIGATING THE FIELDS.

The Ynca Pahuac Mayta and his uncles, having completed the campaign, and appointed governors and the necessary officials to instruct the new vassals, returned to Cuzco, where they were received by the Ynca with great festivities and honours for having achieved such success. With this increase the Ynca Uira-ccocha had extended his dominions to the utmost limit, for on the east it reached to the foot of the great snowy range of mountains, on the west to the sea, and on the south to the most distant province of Charcas, more than two hundred leagues from the city. In these three directions there was nothing left to conquer, for on one side was the sea, and on the others the snowy peaks of the Andes, while to the south were also the great deserts stretching between Peru and the kingdom of Chili. But, as the passion for dominion is insatiable, there arose in the mind of the Ynca a desire to extend his sway in the direction of Chincha-suyu, which is to the north. Having consulted his council, he ordered 30,000 soldiers to be assembled, and appointed six of the most experienced Yncas to march with them. He provided all that was necessary, and took the

command himself, marching by the road of Chincha-suyu, and leaving his brother Ynca Pahuac Mayta as governor of Cuzco. He arrived at the province of Anta-huaylla, the territory of the Chancas, who, owing to their treason and rebellion against Ynca Yahuar-huaccac, were called traitors as a surname, and this name attaches to them to this day, the Indians never saying Chanca without adding the word *auca*, which means "traitor." The word also means a tyrant, a treacherous person, a liar, and all other significations referring to tyranny or treachery. It also means to fight and give battle, so that it will be seen how many meanings one word may have in this language of Peru.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha was received with as much feasting and rejoicing as it was possible for a defeated people to offer. He showed himself very well disposed towards them, giving the chiefs both presents and kind words, that they might be rid of the fear that, as their punishment had not yet been in proportion to their offence, more chastisement would come upon them sooner or later. The Ynca, besides the ordinary favours he showed to all his vassals, visited each province of the Chancas, and provided for all their wants. The army, which had been quartered in various provinces, then commenced the march towards those that were to be conquered. The nearest, called Huatara, was large, and inhabited by a warlike population, which had been on the side of the rebels. It submitted as soon as the messengers of the Ynca Uira-ccocha arrived, and the people came out with much humility to submit to him as their lord; for they were terrified at the news of the battle of the Yahuar-pampa. The Ynca received them with much kindness, and ordered them to be told that it was their own interest to live in peace and quietness.

Thence he marched to another province called Pocra, otherwise Huamanca,* and to others called Asancaru, Parcu, Picuy,

* The local tradition is that the inhabitants of the province of Guamanga, called Pocras, were not reduced without much bloodshed. After

and Acos, all of which submitted cheerfully, and rejoiced to be admitted into the empire, for the rule of Ynca Uira-ccocha was desired throughout all that region, on account of the wonders he had performed. The army then departed, after the Ynca had given orders for the provision of such things as the provinces needed. Among the works that he ordered to be constructed was a channel of water more than twelve feet deep and wide, which flowed for more than one hundred and fifty leagues. Its head was near the top of the mountains between Parcu and Picuy, at some beautiful springs that rise there. The channel flowed thence to the Rucanas, irrigating the pastures in those uninhabited wilds which are eighteen leagues across, and in length stretch over almost the whole extent of Peru.

Another similar channel traversed nearly all Cunti-suyu, from north to south more than one hundred and fifty leagues, along the high mountains in those provinces as far as the land of the Quechuas. It was only used to irrigate the pastures when there was no rain in autumn. There were many of these irrigating channels throughout the empire governed by the Yncas, and they were works worthy of the grandeur and benificence of such princes. These channels were equal to the greatest works in the world, and indeed they may challenge the first place, when we consider the height of the mountains along which they were conducted, the enormous rocks that had to be broken up without iron instruments, by means of blows with stones, and sheer force of muscles. They were not acquainted with the use of centerings, over which arches might be built to support the channel in crossing a ravine; so that if they encountered a deep stream

the battle, when serving out rations of llama flesh to his troops, the Ynca gave a share to a falcon that was soaring over his head, exclaiming *Huaman-ca!* ("Take it, oh, Falcon"). The place has since been called Huamanca, corruptly Guamanga. Since the independence, the name has been changed to Ayacucho, from its proximity to that great battle-field.

they had to conduct the channel to its source, and pass round the obstruction. The channels were from ten to twelve feet wide. On the sides of the mountains they broke through the rock itself to make a passage for the water, and on the outer side they placed great flags of hewn stone, one and a half or two *varas* long, and more than a *vara* broad. They were placed on end, one against the other, and strengthened outside with great clods and much earthwork, so that the flocks passing from one place to another might not injure the channel.

I saw the irrigating channel which passes through the whole region of Cunti-suyu, in the part traversing the Quechua province, and I examined it with much care. Assuredly these works are so grand and admirable that they surpass any picture or description that could be made of them. The Spaniards, being strangers, have not taken notice of these great public works, neither keeping them in repair, nor understanding their value, nor even mentioning them in their histories. On the contrary, either designedly or from extreme carelessness, they have allowed them to be entirely ruined and destroyed. The same has happened to the channels which the Yncas constructed to irrigate the arable lands. Two thirds of these also have been allowed to go out of repair, and they have not been used for many years; but of these ruined works, whether large or small, there still remain many ruins and vestiges.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE YNCA VISITS HIS EMPIRE, AND ENVOYS ARRIVE OFFERING SUBMISSION.

Having given the plan and seen to the provision of what was necessary for the construction of the great channel to irrigate the pastures, the Ynca Uira-ccocha advanced from the provinces of Chincha-suyu to those of Cunti-suyu, with the intention of visiting all his dominions in that direction. The first provinces he came to were those called Quechua. Among those which are known by this name the principal are two called Cotapampa and Cotonera, which he rewarded with many favours and presents, in return for the great service they performed in assisting him to resist the Chancas. He then proceeded to inspect all the other provinces of Cunti-suyu, and not content with seeing those in the *Sierra*, he descended to those in the valleys on the sea-coast. He did this that no province might think itself neglected because the Ynca had not visited it, for all desired to receive these visits.

He made a close inspection to see that all the officials performed their duties, and caused all who were guilty of any carelessness to be severely punished. He said that such men deserved punishment more even than common robbers, because they injured the Indians with that royal power which had been entrusted to them to do good and administer justice, and thus brought the Ynca's laws into contempt. Having traversed Cunti-suyu, the Ynca entered Colla-suyu, visiting the chief places, and conferring many favours as well on the common people as on the Curacas. He travelled along the sea-coast as far as Tarapaca.

While the Ynca was in the province of Chancas, envoys arrived from a kingdom called Tucma, which the Spaniards

called Tucuman. It is two hundred leagues to the south-east of Charcas. Having been brought before him they said, "Sapa Ynca Uira-ccocha, the fame of the deeds of the Yncas your ancestors, of the impartiality and rectitude of their justice, of the excellence of their laws, of the care taken of their subjects, of their goodness, piety, and kindness, and of the great wonders that your father the Sun has lately worked through you, have reached to the utmost limits of our land, and have even passed beyond it. Understanding all these things, the Curacas of the whole kingdom of Tucma have sent us to pray that they may be received into your empire, and be permitted to be called your vassals, that they may enjoy your bounty, and be held worthy to receive Yncas of the blood royal to lead them from their barbarous customs, and to teach them the religion we ought to hold, and the laws we ought to obey. In the name, therefore, of all our people we worship you as a child of the Sun, and in testimony of our submission we offer our persons and the fruits of our land, as a sign that we belong to you." Saying this they presented much cotton cloth, good honey, maize, and other products of their country. They brought some of each product, that he might take possession of all. They did not bring gold or silver, because these Indians had none, nor is any found there now, in spite of the careful search that has been made for it.

Having offered the presents, the envoys went down on their knees according to custom, and worshipped the Ynca as their god and king. He received them with much kindness, and after receiving the presents in token of his possession of the whole of that kingdom, he ordered his relations to drink with the envoys, which was considered as an inestimable favour. After drinking he directed that they should be told that the Ynca was highly pleased at their having submitted to his sway of their own accords, and that they would be treated with greater favour than others, be-

cause their love and good will merited more than the obedience of those who were forced to submit. He ordered that their chiefs should be given much woollen cloth of the fine quality made for the Ynca, and other things made for his own use by the chosen virgins, which were looked upon as sacred. The envoys also received many gifts. He directed that Yncas, his own relations, should instruct these Indians in their idolatry, and abolish former abuses, teaching the people the laws and ordinances of the Yncas. He also appointed officials to make irrigation channels, and cultivate the lands, so as to increase the revenues of the Sun and of the king.

The envoys, after having been in attendance for some days, and having understood the excellent laws and the customs of the court, compared them with their own, and said that these were laws of men who were children of the Sun, and that those were fit only for beasts without reason. Thus moved with zeal, they said to the Ynca, when they departed, "Sole lord! there should be no one in the world who does not enjoy the religion, laws, and government which we have now been taught. But far away from our land, to the south and west, there is a great kingdom called Chili, which is well peopled, but with which we have no intercourse, on account of a great chain of snowy mountains that separates us. But we have heard of this people from our fathers and grandfathers, and we tell you of them because you may see fit to conquer that land and reduce it to submission, that its people may know your religion and worship the Sun, thus enjoying the benefits such knowledge confers." The Ynca ordered this information to be recorded, and gave permission to the envoys to return to their own country.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha continued his journey, and visited all the provinces of Colla-suyu, always showing favour to the chiefs and people, so that all received fresh reason to be contented and satisfied under the rule of their Ynca. He

was everywhere received with great rejoicing, and with such acclamations and feasting as had never before been heard of. For the oft-repeated accounts the people had heard of the vision, and of the great battle of Yahuar-pampa, had excited such veneration and respect for the Ynca that they adored him afresh as a God. To this day the rock under which he is said to have been reclining when he saw the vision is held in great veneration by the Indians. This is not on account of any idolatrous feeling, for by the blessing of God they are undeceived now as to such things, but from love for the memory of their king, who was so great in peace and war.

Having finished his inspection of Colla-suyu, the Ynca entered the region of Anti-suyu, where, though his reception was less magnificent because the people were poorer, yet there was all the rejoicing that was possible. The inhabitants made triumphal arches over the road, with poles covered with reeds and flowers, and they did all they could to show the vain adoration in which they held the Ynca. Uira-ccocha spent three years in visiting these three divisions of his empire, during which time he did not fail to celebrate the festivals of the Sun, called *Raymi* and *Situa*, at whatever place he happened to be when the time for them arrived, although these celebrations were less solemn than at Cuzco. Having completed his journeys he returned to Cuzco, where he had a splendid reception. All his courtiers came out to meet him, and new songs were composed in praise of his greatness.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FLIGHT OF THE BRAVE HANCO-HUALLU FROM THE EMPIRE OF THE YNCAS.

Thus it appears that this Ynca twice visited all the provinces of the empire. During his second visit, while he was

travelling in the province of the Chichas, which is the last in Peru, at about noon, there came tidings of a strange affair which caused much pain and sorrow. It was that the brave Hanco-huallu, whom we have said was king of the Chancas, although he had enjoyed nine or ten years of the genial government of the Yncas, and although he had been deprived of none of his estates, and the Ynca had shown him all possible favour and kindness, was yet unable to bring his proud and generous spirit to endure to be a vassal to another. He who had been absolute lord of so many subjects, and whose ancestors had conquered so many nations, especially the Quechuas, who were the first to bring aid to the Ynca Uira-ccocha, could not suffer the position he now held. He found himself reduced to an equality with those chiefs who had once been his vassals, and he naturally believed that those who had done the Ynca such great service must be more in favour than himself, and that his influence would decrease day by day. Always brooding upon these notions, and seeing that the government of the Yncas intended to secure the submission of all independent chiefs, he desired more and more to be free, and abandoned all his inheritance, to obtain other greater blessings without it. With this intention he opened his mind to some of his people, telling them how he longed to abandon his native land and hereditary lordship, and to escape from thraldom to the Yncas and their government, seeking new lands where he might settle, and thus become an independent chief, or die in the attempt. He told his mind to a few, and, as secretly as possible, they began little by little to approach the limits of the empire of the Yncas, with their wives and children. They could not all set out together without the knowledge of the Ynca, and therefore they went in small parties by different roads. This seemed the best way to obtain their lost liberty. It would have been madness to attempt another rebellion, as they could not now resist the Ynca. Hanco-

huallu, also, did not wish to appear ungrateful to one from whom he had received so much kindness, nor a traitor to so magnanimous an enemy, so he was content to seek his liberty with as little offence as possible to a prince who had been so generous as the Ynca Uira-ccocha.

The brave Hanco-huallu persuaded the first who heard his wishes to join him, and these brought over others, for these Indians have great natural affection for their chief, so that in a short time as many as eight thousand able-bodied men departed from their land, besides women and children. The proud Hanco-huallu marched with these people through desert places, for the villagers feared the name of the Chancas, whose ferocity caused terror throughout all the adjoining provinces. He succeeded in obtaining sustenance for the fugitives until they reached the districts of Tarma and Pumpu, which are sixty leagues from their native country. Here they met with some opposition, but although they could easily have vanquished their opponents, and have settled in the land, they did not wish to do so, because it was so near the empire of the Yncas, whose ambition was such that it would not be long before they also invaded those districts, and reduced them to the same subjection as that from which they were flying. They therefore resolved to press forward and go further away, to some place which the Ynca could not reach so soon, or even in the life time of Hanco-huallu. With this resolution he turned to the right hand, towards the great forests to the east of the Andes, with the intention of entering them, and settling in some convenient spot. So said those of his nation, and that he went almost two hundred leagues from his native land, but they did not know at what point he entered the forests, nor where he finally settled, beyond that he descended by the banks of a great river, and settled on the shores of some large and beautiful lakes. Here they say he performed such wonderful deeds that they sound more like fables composed

in honour of their relations the Chancas than real history. Yet we may believe very marvellous things, from the known valour and gallantry of the great Hanco-huallu, which, however, we must omit, as they do not appertain to our history.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COLONIES FORMED IN THE LAND OF HANCO-HUALLU. THE VALLEY OF YUCAY DESCRIBED.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha was much grieved at the flight of Hanco-huallu, and wished he could have prevented it, but as this was not possible, he consoled himself with the thought that it was not his fault. But the Indians say that when he thought the matter over more carefully, he rejoiced that Hanco-huallu had gone, because the vassals receive evil notions from the valour and spirit of such chiefs, and thus become formidable. He enquired minutely into all the details of the chief's flight, and in what position he had left his provinces. Being informed that there was no alteration whatever in them, he sent orders (so that his own travels might not be interfered with) that his brother Pahuac Mayta, who had remained as governor at Cuzco, and two others of the council, should visit the villages of the Chancas with a strong guard of soldiers, and, by dint of kind and gentle treatment, should quiet the minds of the people, who must have been excited by the flight of Hanco-huallu.

The Yncas visited those villages, and the adjacent provinces, and performed this duty to the best of their ability. They also visited two famous fortresses, which in ancient times had belonged to the ancestors of Hanco-huallu, called

* Cieza de Leon says that Hanco-huallu (whom he calls Ancoallu) and his Chancas fled from the cruelty of the Ynca governors, and settled near Moyobamba, p. 280.

Challcu-marca* and Surumarca.† *Marca*, in the language of these provinces, means a fortress. The exiled Hanco-huallu resided in one of them, during the last days that he remained in his own dominions, to take leave of them, for the Indians say that he felt leaving them more than the loss of all his estates besides. The excitement caused by the flight of Hanco-huallu having subsided, and the visit being finished which the Ynca made to all his provinces, Uiracocoa resolved to remain some years in his court at Cuzco, and to employ his time in the administration of his kingdom until this second disturbance among the Chancas was forgotten. The first thing he did was to promulgate certain laws, the object of which appears to have been to prevent any such rebellion in future. He sent to the provinces of the Chancas ten thousand people, whom they called emigrants,‡ to settle and supply the places of those who had fallen in the battle of Yahuar-pampa, and of those who had fled with Hanco-huallu. Yncas, by privilege, were appointed as their chiefs, and they filled up the void that had been left in those regions.

After having completed these arrangements, the Ynca commanded grand and sumptuous edifices to be built throughout his dominions, especially in the valley of Yucay,§ and lower down at Tampu. This valley excels all others in Peru for its many advantages; and all the kings Yncas, from the time of Manco Ccapac, who was the first, until the last, used it for a garden and place of recreation and enjoyment, to which they resorted when they wanted to throw off for a time the cares and anxieties of government.

* There is no such word as *Challcu* in Quichua.

† *Suru* means long clothes dragging along the ground.

‡ *Advenediza*. The word was applied in Spain to the Moors who became Christians, and afterwards to any foreigner who came to settle in the country.

§ I have described this valley in my *Cuzco and Lima*, and in a note at p. 331 of *Cieza de Leon*.

It is four short leagues north-east of the city. The climate is most agreeable, fresh, and soft, with constant fine weather, and free from heat and cold, flies and mosquitoes. It is situated between two ranges of lofty mountains, that to the east being the great chain of the snowy Andes, which, in one of its turns, reaches to this point. The tops of these mountains are covered with perpetual snow, whence many streams descend into the valley, and the water is taken off to irrigate the fields. Midway up the sides of the mountains there are thick forests, and at their feet are rich pastures abounding in deer, huanucos, vicuñas, partridges, and many other birds, although nearly all the game has now been destroyed by the Spaniards. The bottom of the valley is covered with rich farms, consisting of vineyards, fruit-gardens, and fields of sugar-cane planted by the Spaniards.

The chain of hills to the westward is lower, though the ascent from the valley on that side is more than a league in length. At the foot of it flows the great river of Yucay, with a gentle current. It is full of fish, and abounds in herons, ducks, and other water-fowl. All the invalids of Cuzco go to the valley to enjoy these delights, for the city, being in a very cold climate, is not good for people recovering from illness. At the present day a Spanish inhabitant of Cuzco is not considered well off unless he also has a place in that valley. The Ynca Uira-Ccocha was especially fond of it, and ordered many edifices to be built there, some for recreation, and others to display his grandeur and magnificence. I have seen some of them. He enlarged the house of the Sun, as well in richness as in buildings, and increased the number of attendants, in proportion to his own magnificence, and to the veneration which all the Yncas felt for that temple, especially the Ynca Uira-ccocha, owing to the message that he sent with reference to the apparition.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE YNCA GAVE A NAME TO HIS FIRST-BORN SON. HE PROPHESIED THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS.

The Ynca Uira ccocha was occupied in the peaceful management of the affairs alluded to in the last chapter, and in the general administration of the empire, for some years. He ordered in his will that his eldest son, by his legitimate wife and sister, Ccoya Mama Runtu, should be called Pachacutec. He had previously been named Titu Manco Ccapac. *Pachacutec* is the present participle, and means "he who overturns" or "changes the world." They say, by way of refrain, *Pachamcutin*, which means "the world changes." It is a phrase which is used generally when great affairs change from bad to good, and rarely when they change from good to bad. In accordance with this saying, the Ynca Uira-ccocha should have been named Pachacutec, because he found the empire at his feet, and he changed its state from evil to good, when, through the rebellion of the Chancas and the flight of his father, it had been changed from good to bad. But it was impossible for him to receive this name, because all the people called him Uira-ccocha from the time of his seeing the apparition. He, therefore, gave his son and heir the name of Pachacutec, that the deeds of the father might be remembered in the name of the son. Acosta says, in the twentieth chapter of his sixth book: "The people took it ill that this Ynca should call himself Uira-ccocha, which was the name of God, and he excused himself by saying that that Uira-ccocha himself, in a vision, appeared to him and ordered him to take that name. To him succeeded Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, who was a very valiant conqueror and a great administrator, as well as the originator of most of the rites and superstitions of their idolatry." This is the end of that chapter. It confirms what I have said re-

specting his having seen the apparition in his dreams and taken his name, as well as the succession of his son called Pachacutec. In his twenty-second chapter his Paternity says that Pachacutec deprived his father of the kingdom; but what we have said is that the Ynca Uira-ccocha dethroned his father Yahuar-huaccac, and not Pachacutec his father Uira-ccócha, so that his Paternity makes a mistake of a generation in what he relates. Nevertheless I rejoice that he should so far confirm my narrative.*

The name of the queen, the wife of Uira-ccocha, was *Mama Runtu*, which means "Mother Egg." They called her so because her complexion was fairer than is usual with the Indian women, and by way of comparison they said "Mother Egg," which is a graceful way of speaking in this language, and is as much as to say "Mother, white as an egg." Those curious in languages will be glad to hear these and similar prolixities, which will not be so to them. Those who are not curious must pardon me.

To this Ynca Uira-ccocha the origin of the prophecy is attributed by the Indians, which said that after a certain number of Yncas had reigned, there would come to that land a people never before seen, who would destroy the religion and the empire of the natives. This was briefly the substance of the prophecy, spoken in vague words, having double meanings, which were not understood. The Indians say that as this Ynca, after the vision of the apparition, was looked upon as an oracle, the Amautas, or philosophers, the high priest, and the other older priests of the Temple of the Sun, used to ask him, at certain seasons, what dreams he had had. From these dreams, and the comets of heaven, and the omens on the earth which they drew from the inspection of birds and animals, and from

* Acosta, lib. vi, cap. 22, attributes the victory over the Chancas to Pachacutec, instead of to his father. His imperfect knowledge of the language doubtless led him into this confusion.

the superstitious auguries in their sacrifices, resulted the above prognostication of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. He ordered that it should be regarded as a tradition among the royal princes, and that it should not be divulged to the common people, because it was not right to profane that which came through divine revelation, nor was it wise to allow it to be known that hereafter the Yncas would lose their religion and their empire, and would fall from their high estate. For this reason nothing more was said of this prophecy, until the Ynca Huayna Ccapac openly referred to it a little before his death, as we shall relate in its place.

Some historians touch briefly on what we have said. But their version is that the prophecy was spoken by a god that the Indians called Ticci Uira-ccocha. The account I have given was related in my presence by the old Ynca who recounted the fables and ancient traditions of his kings, in the company of my mother.

The Indians gave the name of Uira-ccocha to the Spaniards because they caused the fulfilment of this prophecy, and, destroying the idolatry of the Yncas, preached the Catholic faith of our Holy Mother Church of Rome. They added a second reason for giving the Spaniards the name, which was that they were sons of their absurd god Uira-ccocha, sent by him (as we before said) to succour the Yncas and punish the tyrant. We have spoken of this before the time, in order to complete our account of the wonderful prophecy which the Kings Yncas had pronounced so many years before, and which was fulfilled in the time of Huascar and Atahualpa, who were great-great-great-grandsons of this Ynca Uira-ccocha.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DEATH OF YNCA UIRA-CCOCHA. THE AUTHOR SAW HIS BODY.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha died in the height of his power and majesty. He was universally regretted throughout the empire, and adored as a god, and child of the Sun, to whom they offered many sacrifices. He left as his heir his son Pachacutec Ynca, and many other legitimate sons and daughters of the blood royal, as well as illegitimate. He subdued eleven provinces, four to the south of Cuzco, and seven to the north. It is not certainly known how many years he lived, nor how many he reigned, but his reign is generally said to have lasted more than fifty-years, and his body confirms this belief. I saw it in Cuzco in the beginning of the year 1570. Being on the point of starting for Spain, I went to the lodging of the licentiate Polo Ondegardo, a native of Salamanca, who was then Corregidor of Cuzco, to take leave, and kiss hands before setting out. Amongst other favours that he showed me, he said: "Well, as you are going to Spain, come first into this building, and you will see some of your own people that have been brought to light, and then you can give an account of them where you are going." I found in the building five bodies of the Kings Yncas, three of men and two of women. The Indians said that one of them was the Ynca Uira-ccocha; and it proved his great age, the head being as white as snow. The second, they said, was the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, great grandson of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. The third was Huayna Ccapac, son of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, and great-great-grandson of Uira-ccocha. The two others did not appear to have been so old, for, though they had grey hairs, they were fewer than those of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. One of the women was the Queen Mama-Runtu, wife of this Uira-ccocha. The other was the

Ccoya Mama Ocllo, mother of Huayna Ccapac. For the Indians, after death, kept the husband and wife together as they had been in life. The bodies were so perfect that they wanted neither hair, eye-brows, nor eye-lashes. They were in their clothes such as they had worn when alive, with the *llautus* on their heads, but without any other sign of royalty. They were seated in the way the Indian men and women usually sit, with their arms crossed over their breasts, the right one over the left, and the eyes cast down as if they were looking on the ground. Father Acosta, speaking of one of these bodies, for he also saw them, makes the following remark in the twenty-second chapter of his sixth book: "The body was so complete and well preserved, by means of a sort of bitumen, that it appeared to be alive. The eyes were made of small pellets of gold, so well imitated that no one would have missed the real ones."

I confess my carelessness in not having examined the bodies more closely. I did not then think of writing this history, or I should have looked at them with more care, and ascertained how they were embalmed. For, as I was a native, the Indians would not have refused to tell me, as was the case with the Spaniards, who, with all their care, have not been able to find this out from the Indians. This may be because they have forgotten the tradition of embalming, as of other things we have mentioned, and shall mention further on. Nor did I see the bitumen, for the bodies were so complete that they looked as if they were alive, as his Paternity says. But it must be supposed that they were prepared in some way, for bodies that had been dead for so many years could not be so entire, and so covered with flesh as they appeared to be, without the application of something to preserve them. But it was so well concealed that it has not been found out. The same author, speaking of these bodies, in the sixth chapter of his fifth book, says what follows: "The bodies of their kings and lords were preserved, and

remained entire, without any bad odour, or corruption, for more than two hundred years. In this way the Kings Yncas were preserved in Cuzco, each in his chapel or oratory. The viceroy, Marquis of Cañete, in order to root up the idolatry of the Indians, caused three or four of these bodies to be seized and brought to the City of the Kings; and it caused admiration to see human bodies of such age so complete, and with such perfect skins." So far is from his Paternity.

But the City of the Kings, where they had been for nearly twenty years when the good father saw them, is in a very hot and damp climate, very destructive, especially to flesh, which cannot be preserved from one day to another. Notwithstanding all this, he says that it was wonderful to see bodies so long dead with such clear skins. How much better, then, must they have looked twenty years before, and in Cuzco where the air is so cold and dry that it preserves flesh without corruption, until it is as dry as a stick! For my part, I believe that the principal art in embalming was to take the bodies up to near the snow-line, and keep them there till the flesh was perfectly dry, and that afterwards they applied the bitumen, mentioned by the good father, to fill up and supply the place of the flesh that had withered. Thus the bodies were as complete in everything as if they had been alive and well, and wanting nothing but the power of speech. This explanation occurred to me from having observed that the hung beef of the Indians, used in all these cold regions, is simply made by hanging the meat in the air until it has lost all its moisture, and they do not apply salt or any other preservative, but keep it dry by this method as long as they like. In this way all the meat was treated, in the time of the Yncas, that was used as food for their armies.

I remember having touched a finger of the hand of Huayna Ccapac, and it felt as if it belonged to a statue of wood, being so hard and rigid. The bodies weighed so

little that any Indian could take them in his arms, or on his shoulders, from house to house, to the gentlemen who asked to see them. They carried them, wrapped up in white sheets, through the streets and squares, the Indians falling on their knees and making reverences with groans and tears, and many Spaniards took off their caps. For these were the bodies of kings whose memories were so cherished by the Indians, that they knew not how to express their feelings in any other way. This is what I have been able to learn touching the deeds of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. Other less important events and sayings of this famous king are not fully remembered, which is a great pity. For thus the deeds of such heroic persons are buried with their bodies, for the want of a knowledge of letters to record them.

Father Blas Valera only gives one saying of this Ynca Uira-ccocha. He says that it was often repeated to him, and that three Yncas (whose names he gives) related the tradition of this saying to him, and of others of other Yncas, which we shall relate in their places. The saying of Uira-ccocha is on the subject of the education of children. For, as this Ynca was brought up with so much harshness and severity by his father, he called to mind what had happened to himself, in teaching his own children how they ought to bring up their sons, that they might grow up to be well conditioned men. He said: "Fathers are often the cause that their sons are lost or corrupted by evil habits which they are allowed to learn in their childhood. For some bring up their sons with too much indulgence and good nature, and, being overjoyed by the beauty and tenderness of their children, they leave them to do as they please, without caring for the future when they shall become men, or thinking of what will then happen. Others there are who treat their children with too much severity and harshness, which also ruins them. For too much indulgence weakens the powers both of body and mind, and too much severity

enfeebles and weakens the spirit, making the child lose the hope of learning and hate instruction. Those who are made to fear everything cannot have the courage to perform deeds worthy of men. The proper way is to bring children up by a middle course, so that they may turn out strong and courageous in war, wise and judicious in peace." With this saying the Father Blas Valera concludes the life of this Ynca Uira-ccocha.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

SIXTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IT CONTAINS ACCOUNTS OF THE ORNAMENTS AND FURNITURE
OF THE ROYAL PALACE OF THE YNCAS,
OF THE ROYAL OBSEQUIES,
OF THE HUNTING EXPEDITIONS, THE SYSTEM OF POSTS, AND
OF KEEPING ACCOUNTS BY MEANS OF KNOTS.

IT NARRATES THE CONQUESTS, LAWS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE
YNCA PACHACUTEC, NINTH KING.

DESCRIBES THE PRINCIPAL FESTIVAL THEY CELEBRATED.
GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MANY VALLEYS ON THE COAST.
OF THE INCREASE OF SCHOOLS IN CUZCO,
AND OF THE SAYINGS OF THE YNCA
PACHACUTEC.

THE BOOK CONTAINS THIRTY-SIX CHAPTERS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE BUILDING AND DECORATION OF THE ROYAL PALACES.

THE service and decoration of the palaces of the Kings Yncas of Peru were no less grand, splendid, and majestic than all other things appertaining to them. Some of their furniture, indeed, exceeded anything that has been recorded of the houses of all the kings and emperors that have been described throughout the known world. In the first place, the walls of their houses, temples, gardens, and baths were extremely regular as regards the placing of the wonderfully cut masonry. The stones were placed so exactly against each other, that there was no need of mortar. It is true, however, that they did use a red clay, called in their language *llancac alpa*, which is sticky, and when made into mud, shows no sign of its having been applied between the stones. Hence it is that the Spaniards asserted that they laid the stone without mortar, while some declared that they made lime. These are mistakes, for the Indians of Peru did not know the use of lime, nor of plaster, nor of bricks.

In many of the palaces and temples of the Sun, they used molten lead, silver, and gold instead of mortar. Pedro de Cieza, in his ninety-fourth chapter, says the same*; and

* He says—"It is related for certain that in some part of a royal palace, or of a temple of the Sun, gold is used instead of mortar, which, jointly with the cement that they make, served to unite the stones together," p. 335.

I rejoice to have a Spanish historian to support my statement. They did this to give the buildings greater majesty, and it was the principal cause of the total destruction of those edifices. When they found the precious metals in some of the walls, they pulled them all down, seeking for gold and silver. The walls were so well built, and of such excellent stone, that they would have endured for many ages if they had not been destroyed. In his forty-second, sixtieth, and ninety-fourth chapters,* Pedro de Cieza makes the same remark. They plated the temples of the Sun and the royal palaces with gold, and put in them many figures of men and women; of birds of the air and water; of wild animals, such as tigers, bears, lions, foxes, dogs, cats, deer, huanacus, and vicuñas, and of domestic llamas, all of gold and silver, worked in imitation of nature. There were places in the recesses that were left for that purpose, as Pedro de Cieza, in his forty-fourth chapter, largely relates.†

They imitated the plants that grow on walls in silver, and fastened them so as to resemble natural growth. They also scattered over the walls many lizards, rats, butterflies, and large and small serpents, which looked as if they were running up and down. The Ynca usually sat on a stool of solid gold called *tiana*. It was a *tercia* in height, without arms or back, and with a concave surface for the seat. It was placed on a great square board of gold. All the cups for the whole service of the house, as well for the table as for the kitchen, were, large and small, of gold and silver; and some were placed in each depôt for the use of the king when travelling. This was done to avoid the necessity of carrying them about with him, and thus every royal lodging,

* In the 42nd chapter Cieza de Leon is describing the ruins of Mocha, in the kingdom of Quito. He says—"As they are built of very beautiful stone, and the masonry is excellent, they will endure for ages as memorials." In the 60th chapter he describes the Ynca road on the sea coast, and in the 94th he treats of the ruins at Ollantay-tambo.

† In this chapter he describes the palace of Tumebamba, near Quito.

whether on the roads or in the provinces, was fully supplied with all he required when he marched with his armies, or visited his people. In these houses there were also granaries, which the Yncas called *pirua*, made of gold and silver; and these were not intended to hold corn, but to increase the grandeur and magnificence of the house and of its lord.

There was also great store of new clothing, both for wearing and for the bed, for the Ynca never put on the same dress twice, but gave it to one of his relations. All his bed clothes were woollen, woven from the wool of the vicuñas, which is so fine that, among other things belonging to that land, it has been brought over for the bed of the king, Don Philip II. These blankets were placed both under and over. They did not use mattresses, because they did not want them, for when they saw those used by the Spaniards they would not have them in their houses. They seemed to be too great a luxury, and too artificial to be in conformity with the natural life that they profess to lead.

They did not have tapestry for the walls, because they were covered with gold and silver. The dinners were very plentiful, as they were prepared for all the Ynca's relations that might come to dine with the king, as well as for all the servants of the household, who were numerous. The hour for the principal meal, both for the Ynca and the people, was eight or nine in the morning. They supped before the light of day was gone, and these were their only meals. They were generally bad eaters; that is to say, they ate little. But they were not so abstemious in drinking. They did not drink during the meal, but they made up for it afterwards, and their potations were continued until night. This was the custom of the rich, for the poor had only sufficient of all things, though no scarcity. They went to bed early, and got up very early to do the business of the day.

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CHAPTER II.

EVERY ORNAMENT FOR THE ROYAL PALACE WAS IMITATED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

There were gardens and orchards, for the Ynca's recreation, attached to the royal palaces, in which they planted all the beautiful trees and sweet flowers that were found in that land. They also imitated them all in gold and silver, with their leaves, flowers and fruit; some just beginning to sprout, others half grown, others having reached maturity. They made fields of maize, with their leaves, mazorcas, canes, roots, and flowers, all exactly imitated. The beard of the *mazorca* was of gold, and all the rest of silver, the parts being soldered together. They did the same with other plants, making the flower, or any part that became yellow, of gold, and the rest of silver.

They also imitated large and small animals in gold and silver, and hollowed them out for cups. In this way they made imitation rabbits, rats, lizards, snakes, butterflies, foxes, and wild cats, for they had no domestic cats. They also imitated birds of all kinds, some sitting on branches as if they were singing, others flying and sucking honey from the flowers. In the same way they made deer, lions, tigers, and all other animals and birds that are found in that land, each placed in the position that would appear most natural. In most, if not all the houses, there were baths, consisting of great jars of gold and silver, in which they washed, with pipes of the same metals for bringing the water. And in places where there were natural hot springs, they had baths erected with great splendour and luxury. Among other magnificent ornaments they had piles and heaps of firewood, all imitated in gold and silver, and placed just as if they were intended to be used for the service of the house.

The Indians buried most of these treasures as soon as

they saw how the Spaniards thirsted for them. They have been so effectually concealed that they have never since been found, and are not likely to be now, except by accident. The Indians now living do not know where they are hidden, for their fathers and grandfathers would not leave behind them a knowledge of the hiding place, not wishing that things which had been dedicated to the service of their kings should ever be used by others. The whole of the Spanish historians allude to these treasures of the Yncas, each adding such particulars as he may have heard. Pedro de Cieza de Leon is the historian who writes most at large on this point, in his twenty-first, thirty-seventh, forty-first, and forty-fourth chapters, besides many notices in other parts of his book. The accountant Agustin de Zarate, in the fourteenth chapter of his first book, has these words: "They held gold in great estimation, because the king and his courtiers made their cups, and the ornaments for their dresses of it. They also offered it up in their temples, and the king had a great board on which he sat, of sixteen carat gold, which was worth more than twenty-five thousand ducats. It was this that Don Francisco Pizarro chose for his reward, because, according to the agreement at the time of the conquest, he had a right to choose something for himself, besides his share out of the common lot."

"At the time when his eldest son was born, Huayna Ccapac ordered a rope of gold to be made, which was so thick that (as many Indians testify who saw it, and are still alive) more than two hundred *Orejones* could not lift it easily. In memory of this famous ornament the son was called *Huascar*, which means a rope in their language, the addition of Ynca being the common surname of those kings, as Augustus was of the Roman emperors. I have stated this in order to eradicate the opinion, which is common in Castille among people who know little of the Indies, that the natives did not appreciate the value of gold. They also

had many granaries, and large figures of men and women, sheep, and all other animals and plants that are found in that country, with their thorns, beards of corn, and knots copied from nature; also a vast store of cloaks and belts interwoven with gold wire, and even a certain number of billets of firewood, all made in gold and silver."

All these are the words of that author, with which he concludes the fourteenth chapter of his history of Peru.

The treasure which Don Francisco Pizarro is said to have chosen, was taken from the ransom which Atahualpa offered for himself. According to military law, the general has a right to take one article from a heap of spoils, and though there were others of greater value, such as huge jars and vases, yet as this was peculiar, and the throne of the King, (for his stool was placed upon that stand), he chose it, as a sign that the King of Spain would in future sit upon that throne. We shall give an account of the chain of gold, which is almost incredible, in our life of Huayna Ccapac, the last of the Yncas.

That which Pedro de Cieza writes of the great riches of Peru, and how the Indians hid most of it, is as follows. I quote from his twenty-first chapter, without making use of what is said in the others.

"If all the gold that is buried in Peru, and in these countries,* were collected, it would be impossible to count it, so great would be the quantity, and the Spaniards have got little compared with what remains. When I was in Cuzco, receiving an account of the Yncas from the principal natives, I heard it said by Paullu Ynca and others, that if all the treasure in the *huacas*, which are their burial places, was collected together, that which the Spaniards had already taken would look very small, and they compared it to a drop taken out of a great vase of water. In order to make the comparison more striking, they took a large measure of

* The valley of the Cauca in New Granada.

maize, and, dropping one grain out of it, they said: 'The Christians have found that; the rest is so concealed that we ourselves do not know the place of it.' So vast are the treasures that are lost in these parts. If the Spaniards had not come, all the gold in the country would certainly have been offered to the devil, or buried with the dead, for the Indians neither want it, nor seek it for any other purpose. They do not pay any wages with it to their men of war, nor do they want it, except as ornaments when alive, and to be placed by their sides when dead. Therefore it seems to me that we are bound to bring them to a knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, without showing them that our only wish is to fill our pockets."*

All this is extracted, word for word, from the twenty-first chapter of Pedro de Cieza. The Ynca whom he calls Paullu is mentioned by all the Spanish historians. He was one of the many sons of Huayna Ccapac, and was a valiant man who served the King of Spain in the wars. In his baptism he was called Don Cristoval Paullu. My Lord Garcillasso de la Vega was his godfather, and also stood sponsor for his legitimate brother Titu Auqui, who took the name of Don Felipe in his baptism, out of respect for Phillip II, who was then Prince of Spain. I knew both. They died soon afterwards. I also knew the mother of Paullu, whose name was Añas.†

That which Francisco Lopez de Gomara writes of the history of the riches of these kings is as follows, copied word for word from his one hundred and twenty-first‡ chapter:—

"All the service of their house, table, and kitchen was of gold and silver, or at least of silver and copper. The Ynca had, in his chamber, hollow statues of gold, which

* See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, p. 77.

† *Añas* is Quichua for a "fox."

‡ It should be the 120th.

appeared like giants, and others naturally imitated from animals, birds, trees; from plants produced by the land, and from such fish as are yielded by the waters of his kingdom. He also had ropes, baskets, and hampers of gold and silver, and piles of golden sticks, to imitate fuel prepared for burning. In short, there was nothing that his territory produced that he had not got imitated in gold. It is even said that the Yncas had a flower garden on an island near Puna, to which they resorted when they wished to be near the sea, which had bushes, trees, and flowers, all of gold and silver; a magnificent idea never before conceived. Besides all this they had an infinite quantity of gold and silver for working up, at Cuzco. This was lost on the death of Huascar, for the Indians concealed it when they saw that the Spaniards were seizing it to send to Spain. Many have since sought for it, but have not found it."*

Thus far is from Lopez de Gomara. The flower garden of which he speaks, which the Yncas were said to have had near the island of Puna, is no more than what they had in all the royal houses in their dominions, together with the other treasures he describes. But as the Spaniards only saw this garden at the point where they first landed, they could give no account of the others. For as soon as they invaded the country, the Indians took the treasures away and hid them in places whence they have never been brought, as the same author, and many others, relate. The vast quantity of gold and silver which, he says, was stored for working in Cuzco, besides what he relates of the magnificence of the palaces, was what remained over, after the adorning of the royal chambers had been provided for, and

* Garcilasso ends his quotation here. But Gomara goes on to say:— "Perchance the fame of these riches may be greater than the reality; although they called him *the rich youth*, for such is the meaning of Huayna Ccapac. Huascar inherited all these riches, with the empire. He is not so much spoken of as Atahualpa, probably because he did not fall into the hands of our Spaniards."

as there was no use for it, it was stored up. This is not hard for those to believe who have since seen so much gold and silver arrive here from that land. In the year 1595 alone, within the space of eight months, 35,000,000 of gold and silver crossed the bar of San Lucar in three cargoes.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SERVANTS OF THE ROYAL PALACE, AND OF THOSE WHO CARRIED THE LITTER OF THE KING.

The attendants for the service of the palace, such as sweepers, water-carriers, and wood-cutters, as well as cooks for the table of the courtiers, (for that for the Ynca himself was served by his concubines) porters, keepers of the wardrobe, warders of the treasure, gardeners, huntsmen, and all other servants holding similar positions to those in the houses of the kings and emperors, were not persons chosen by chance. But each office was filled by natives of particular villages, whose duty it was to supply faithful and efficient men in sufficient number. They were changed at certain intervals, and this was the form that the tribute took in those villages. Any negligence or inefficiency on the part of these servants was looked upon as an offence committed by their village, and for one man's fault all the inhabitants were chastised more or less severely according to the offence. If the offence was committed against the royal majesty, the village was levelled with the ground. It must not be understood that the wood-cutters went to the forest for fuel, but that they found it provided in the palace, being brought there by the vassals, as well as all other things for the royal service. And these employments were much prized among the Indians, as they enabled them to be

nearer the royal person, which was an honour they most esteemed.

The villages which furnished these servants were those within six or seven leagues of the city of Cuzco, and were the first which the Ynca Manco Ccapac ordered to be formed by the savages whom he reduced to subjection. The inhabitants of them, by his special grace and bounty, he called Yncas, and they received the insignia and dress of the royal person, as we explained in the beginning of this history.

Two provinces were selected to supply men to carry the royal person on their shoulders, in the golden litter in which he always travelled. Both had the same name, and were close to each other; but to distinguish them one was known as Rucana, and the other as Hatun Rucana, which means "Rucana the great." They contained more than 15,000 inhabitants—a fine well-favoured race of men. When they reached the age of twenty, they began to practise carrying litters without any uneven motion, or stumbling. For it was a great offence to fall, and he who committed it was always punished by his captain, who was the chief bearer, by being chastised in public, which is a disgrace there, as it is in Spain. One historian says that the punishment of death was inflicted on him who stumbled. These vassals served the Ynca in this employment in regular rotation, and this was their chief tribute, for which they were selected. They were looked upon as highly favoured men to be thus chosen to carry their king on their shoulders. They always went by the side of the litter in parties of twenty-five or more, so that if one should slip or fall, it might not be noticed.

The consumption of food in the royal palace was very great, especially of meat. For the meals of all persons of the blood royal who were residing at court were provided. The consumption of maize, which was their bread, was not so great, except amongst the indoor servants, for the out-

door attendants reaped sufficient from their own allotments. Meat of game, such as deer, vicuña, and huanacu, was not consumed in the royal household nor in those of any of the nobles, except birds. For that of beasts was reserved until the time of the great hunting parties, which took place at regular seasons, and were called *Chacu*, as we shall explain in another chapter. On these occasions they distributed the flesh and the wool amongst rich and poor alike. The liquor that was consumed in the palace of the Ynca was in such quantity that it was almost impossible to keep account or measure of it. For as it was the chief favour shown to those who came to serve the Ynca, whether Curacas or not, to give them all liquor to drink, the quantity that was consumed is a thing almost incredible.

CHAPTER IV.

HALLS WHICH WERE USED FOR FESTIVITIES, AND OTHER THINGS TOUCHING THE ROYAL PALACES.

In many of the houses of the Yncas there were very large halls, 200 paces long by 50 to 60, in which they celebrated their festivals and dances when rainy weather prevented them from being held in the open air. I saw four of these halls in the city of Cuzco, which were still entire in my childhood. One was in the Amaru-cancha, and was turned into the houses which belonged to Hernando Pizarro, where now is the college of the Holy Company of Jesus.* The second was Cassana,† now occupied by the shops of my schoolfellow, Juan de Cellorico. The third was on the Colcampata,‡ in the house formerly belonging to the Ynca

* A series of very handsome cloisters, besides the great church.

† Now a street of houses. ‡ But one wall remains.

Paullu and his son Don Carlos, who was also my school-fellow. This was the smallest of the four, and the largest was that in Cassana, which was capable of holding four thousand people. It is wonderful how timber could be found to cover so large a space. The fourth hall was that which now serves as the cathedral church. It must be understood that the Indians of Peru never built an upper story to their houses, but that all their rooms were on the ground floor; nor did they join their buildings together, but each one stood by itself. The most they did was to have one large room on one side, and some small chambers serving as wardrobes or closets, on the other. The rooms were divided and surrounded by large or small enclosures, so that they might not communicate with each other.

It must also be noted that all the four walls of masonry or sun-dried bricks, whether of a great or small building, were fastened from within. For they knew not either how to fasten one side to another, nor to make joists from one wall to another; nor did they know the use of nails. All the timber that was used for roofing was placed loose on the walls; and, in place of nails they were fastened with strong lashings made of long, soft straw, which resembles feather-grass. Over the main timbers they placed the cross-beams or rafters, also tied together, and over these they laid the thatching of straw in such quantity that the royal edifices of which we are speaking had a thickness of nearly a cubit of thatch, if not more. The same material was used for eaves, to preserve the walls from damp; and it projected for more than a yard beyond the walls. All the thatch that overhung the walls was very equally cut. I saw a room in the valley of Yucay more than sixty feet square, built in the manner I have described, with a roof in the form of a pyramid. The height of the walls was equal to the stature of three men, and the roof was four times as high. The room had two small chambers on one side. The Indians did not destroy this

building during the general insurrection, because the Kings Yncas used to go there to witness the principal festivals, which were celebrated in a very large quadrangle (or rather court) in front of it. They burnt many other most beautiful edifices in that valley, the walls of which I have seen.

Besides the cut masonry, they used sun-dried bricks for their walls, which were made in moulds, as bricks are made here. They were of clay mixed with straw, and were called *adobes*. These *adobes* were of a size corresponding to the size of the wall, and the smallest were a yard long; a sixth of a yard wide, and the same in thickness. They dried them in the sun, then placed them in a heap under a roof, until they were completely dried, and then laid them as they lay bricks, using the same clay, mixed with straw, instead of mortar.

They did not make mud walls, nor do the Spaniards use them, in making *adobes*. When any of their grand edifices were destroyed by fire, they did not begin to rebuild on the burnt walls, because they said that, as the fire had burnt the straw in the *adobes*, the walls would be weak, like loose earth, and unable to support the weight of the roof. I, however, saw the walls of many edifices that had been burnt, which were very good. As soon as a reigning king died, they closed the room where he used to sleep, with all its ornaments of gold and silver; and it was looked upon as a sacred place into which no one was ever again to enter. They did this in all the palaces of the kingdom where he had passed a night, even if it was only while on a journey. They then prepared a new chamber for the succeeding Ynca, in which he might sleep, and they built it with great care that it might be equal to the closed room. All the vases of gold and silver that had been used by the king, and all his jars, basins, and the service of his kitchen, as well as all other things that had been used in his palace, and all his jewels and clothes, were buried with him; so

that he might have the use of them in the next world. But the other rich ornaments of the palaces, such as the gardens, baths, and imitation fuel, were left for the use of his successor.

The fuel and water that were consumed in the palace when the Ynca was in the city of Cuzco were brought in turn by the Indians of the four districts, which they called Ttahua-ntin Suyu: that is to say, the natives of the villages nearest to the city, belonging to those four regions, for a circuit of fifteen to twenty leagues. In the Ynca's absence they brought the same supplies, though not in such quantity. The water which is used in brewing the drink called *aca* (the last syllable being pronounced far down in the throat) should be thick and a little brackish, for they think that clear sweet water gives no taste or seasoning to the beverage. For this reason the Indians were not particular about having fountains of good water, preferring muddy to clear streams, nor had the city of Cuzco any good water. When my father was Corregidor of that city, after the war of Francisco Hernandez Giron, in the years 1555 and 1556, they conveyed the water called Tica-tica, rising a quarter of a league away, to the city, which is very good; and brought it into the great square. It has since (as I have heard) been led to the square of San Francisco, and they have conducted another more plentiful spring of excellent water to the great square.

CHAPTER V.

HOW THEY INTERRED THE KINGS. THE OBSEQUIES LASTED FOR A YEAR.

The obsequies which they celebrated for their kings were very solemn, though tedious. The body was embalmed. It is not known how this was done, but the bodies remained

so perfect that they appeared to be alive, as we have already said of the five bodies of Yncas that were found in the year 1559. All their insides were interred in a temple they had built in a village called Tampu, on the banks of the river Yucay, less than five miles from the city of Cuzco; where there were very grand and imposing edifices of cut masonry. Pedro de Cieza, in his ninety-fourth chapter, says of these edifices that:—"it is said for certain in these edifices of Tampu or in others at some other place with the same name (for this is not the only place called Tampu) in a certain part of the royal palace or of a temple of the sun, gold is used instead of mortar, which, jointly with the cement that they make, served to unite the stone together." These are his words copied exactly.*

When an Ynca or any great Curaca died, his favourite servants and most beloved wives were buried alive with him or killed. The people said that they must go to serve their Lord in the other life; for, as we have already said, they held, in their days of infidelity, that, after this life, there would be another life, which would be corporeal and not spiritual. The victims themselves volunteered to be killed or killed themselves, for the love they felt for their Lord; and that which some historians say, that they were killed to be buried with their masters and husbands, is false. For this would be scandalous tyranny and inhumanity, to kill them on the pretext that they must be sent to their Lords, if this was hateful to them. It is certain that they themselves volunteered to be killed, and their number was often such that the officers were obliged to interfere, saying that enough had gone at present, and that the rest would go to serve their master, one by one, as they died.

The bodies of the kings, after they had been embalmed, were placed in front of the figure of the sun, in the temple

* Not quite. Garcilasso omits the parenthesis. See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, p. 334.

of Cuzco, where many sacrifices were offered to them, as to godlike men who were children of the sun. During the first month after the death of the king they mourned every day with much sentiment; and there were cries throughout the city. The people of each ward went out into the fields, carrying the banners of the Ynca, and such clothes and arms as were left from those that were interred with him. In their mourning, they loudly shouted out the deeds of the late Ynca in war, and the good he had done to the provinces. Those of each ward declared the benefits he had done to the districts whence they came. After the first month they did the same every fortnight, at each phase of the moon, and this went on during the whole year. At the year's end the obsequïes were again celebrated with special solemnity, and with the same mournful cries; for which men and women were specially employed as mourners, who sang mournful songs and dirges, reciting the great deeds and virtues of the dead king. The members of the royal family mourned in the same way as the common people of the city, but with more dignity, as became the difference between princes and plebeians.

The same was done in each province of the empire, the chief lord celebrating the Ynca's death with as great a display of sorrow as was possible. They went to visit all the places in the province where the king had stopped, whether on the roads or in villages, to show their grief; for, as has been said, they held such places in great veneration, and at these spots the weeping and crying was greater. They also recited the graces and favours that had been conferred on them by the dead Ynca at each place. This will suffice for an account of the royal obsequies, which were celebrated in the same way by the chiefs of every province; and I remember having seen something of them in my childhood. In one of the provinces of the people called Quechuas I saw a great crowd go out into the fields to mourn for their

Curaca, with his banners and clothes. Their cries awoke me, and when I asked what the noise was, they told me it was the obsequies of the chief Huamanpalpa, for that was the name of the deceased.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOLEMN HUNTING EXCURSIONS THAT THE KINGS MADE THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

The Yncas, Kings of Peru, among many other royal acts, were accustomed, at certain seasons, to make a solemn hunting excursion, which in their language was called *Chacu*. The word means literally to stop or intercept, because they intercepted the game. For this purpose the taking of any kind of game was strictly prohibited, except partridges, doves, pigeons, and other small birds for the tables of the Ynca Governors and Curacas; and even these were only to be taken in small quantity, and after obtaining permission. It was forbidden to kill any other game, lest the Indians, carried away by the pleasure of the sport, should become idle and neglect their necessary household duties. So no one killed a bird, on pain of being killed himself as a breaker of the Ynca's law, for his laws were not made to be laughed at.

Owing to these observances, there were such vast quantities of beasts and birds that they came into the houses. Nevertheless the people were allowed to drive the deer out of their fields of growing corn; for the Ynca said that he wanted the game for the people, and not the people for the game.

At a certain time of the year, after the breeding season, the Ynca went to any province he liked to choose, accord-

ing as the affairs of peace or war made it convenient. He then ordered out 20,000 or 30,000 Indians, or more or less as the case might be, according to the area of the space that was to be hunted over. The Indians were divided into two parties, one going to the right, the other to the left, and forming a great circle of twenty or thirty leagues in circumference. The rivers, brooks, or ravines were used as boundaries of the land that was to be hunted over that year, and they did not enter the district that was reserved for the next year's hunting. They advanced shouting and starting the game in front of them, and watching where the beasts stopped. Then the two parties of beaters united, to close up round the space, and encircle the animals; for they knew where they were by having marked them down, the country being pretty clear of trees and rocks. Then they formed into several ranks of men, and closed in until they could take the game with their hands.

With the game they caught lions, bears, many foxes, wild cats called *Oscollo*, of two or three kinds, and other creatures that do harm to the game. All these were killed at once, to rid the country of such vermin. We do not mention the tigers because they are only found in the dense forests of the Antis. The quantity of deer of various sorts, of the larger sheep, called huanacu, with coarse wool, and of the smaller vicuñas with fine wool, was very great, and in some districts amounted to 20,000, 30,000, or 40,000 head; a fine and pleasant sight to witness. That was in former days. Now it is said that few have escaped the destruction caused by Spanish arquebuses, and that scarcely any huanacus or vicuñas are found except in places where the arquebus cannot be brought within range.

All the game was taken by hand. The female deer were let go, except those past breeding, which were killed. They also released a sufficient number of the males, selecting the best and finest. The rest were killed, and their flesh was

divided amongst the people. The huanacus and vicuñas were let go, as soon as they had been shorn. An account was kept on the *quipus* of the number of all this wild game, as if it had been tame, noting the different species and the males and females. They also recorded the number of animals that had been killed, as well the vermin as the game, to know the number of head that had been killed and that remained alive; so as to be able to tell whether the game had increased at the next hunt.

The wool of the huanacus, being coarse, was divided amongst the common people; and that of the vicuñas, being much esteemed for its fineness, was all reserved for the Ynca, who distributed it amongst the members of his family. No one else was allowed to wear it on pain of death. The privilege of using it was sometimes granted to the Curacas, but without such permission they were not allowed to wear it. The flesh of the vicuñas and huanacus, that were killed, was divided amongst the people; the Curacus receiving a share both of that and the venison, not because they needed it, but to make merry with in honour of the hunt, that all might enjoy something from it.

These hunts took place in each district at intervals of three years. The interval of three years was allowed because the Indians say that it takes that time for the fleeces of the vicuñas to grow to their full length again, and they will not shear them before that time, that none may be lost. The interval was also allowed to give time for all the game to multiply, and in order that they might not become so wild as would be the case if they were hunted every year: a course which would be equally injurious to the hunters and the game. But in order that there might be a hunt every year, the provinces were divided into three or four parts, and each year the part was hunted over that had not been disturbed for three years.

The Yncas hunted their lands according to this arrange-

ment, preserving the game, providing for its increase, amusing themselves and the court, and benefiting their people; and these regulations were observed throughout the empire. For they said that the game should be made as profitable as tame flocks, the Pachacamac or the Sun not having created it to be useless; and that it was also necessary to hunt and kill the vermin, to get rid of them from among the useful animals, just as weeds are removed from amongst the corn. These and other similar reasons were given by the Yncas for their hunts, called *Chacu;* by which may be judged the order and good government of those kings in matters of more importance, seeing that even in hunting all things were so well regulated. From these wild flocks are taken the bezoar stone that is brought from that land; and it is said that there is a difference in its quality, that of some species being better than that of others.

The viceroys and Ynca governors hunted in the same way, each one, in his province, assisting personally in the hunt, as well for amusement, as to see that there was no unfairness in the distribution of the flesh and wool to the people, and that the poor, who were the sick and aged, got their share.

The common people were in general poor in flocks (except in the Collao, where they had plenty), and hence they only ate meat when they received it as a gift from the Curacas, or when, on some great occasion, they killed one of the guinea pigs they bred in their houses, called *Ccoz.* In order to alleviate this general want, the Ynca ordered these hunts to take place, and that the flesh should be distributed amongst all the people. They made dried meat of it, called *Charqui,* which kept good until the next hunt; for the Indians were very abstemious and very careful in preserving their dried meat.

In their dishes they ate as many herbs as grow in the fields, whether sweet or bitter, as long as they are not

poisonous. The bitter herbs are boiled two or three times, and dried in the sun, to be kept against the season when there are none green. They do not spare the cress which grows in the streams, which is also washed and prepared for use. They also ate raw green herbs, as we eat lettuce and radishes, but they never made salads of them.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POSTS AND RUNNERS AND OF THE MESSAGES THEY CARRIED.

The runners who were posted along the roads were called *Chasqui*. It was their duty to carry the king's orders rapidly, and to bring important news from the provinces, whether far or near. For this purpose four or six Indian lads, who were swift of foot, were stationed at every quarter of a league; and two huts were built at each station to protect them from the weather. They took their turns alternately to carry the despatches, first those of one hut, and next those of the other; one sat watching the road in one direction and the other in the opposite one; so as to see the messenger before he could arrive, and be ready to take the despatch, that no time might be lost. With this object the huts were always placed on high ground, and in positions so that one station could be seen from those on either side. They were placed at intervals of a quarter of a league, because that was the distance that an Indian was said to be able to run at full speed, without being tired.

They were called *Chasqui*, which means to exchange, give, or take; because they exchanged, gave and took from one to the other the despatches they carried. They were not called *Chaca*, which means a messenger, because that was

the word applied to an ambassador or special envoy who went personally from one prince to another, or from a lord to his subject. The despatch or message which the *Chasqui* carried was verbal, because the Indians of Peru could not write. The words were few, very curt, and to the point, that the message might not be misunderstood or forgotten. He who came with the message began to cry out as soon as he caught sight of the hut, to warn the other to be ready; just as the postman blows his horn to warn them to have his horse saddled as he approaches the posthouse. As soon as he was within hearing the *Chasqui* shouted out his message, repeating it two, three, or four times until it was understood; and if he failed, he waited until he arrived and could deliver it more formally. Thus it was passed on from one to the other, until it reached its destination.

Other despatches were carried, not verbally but by writing. We assert this, although we have already said that they had no letters. But, in place of letters, they had knots, on threads or strings of different colours, which were placed in their order; but not always in the same order. Sometimes one colour was placed before another, at others behind. This method of recording was a cypher by means of which the Ynca and his Governors understood what was necessary for their guidance. The knots and colours of the strings signified the number of men, arms, clothes, provisions or whatever other thing information was required upon, that it might be made, sent, or hurried forward. The Indians called these knotted strings *Quipus* (which means to knot, or a knot, so that it serves both for verb and noun) by which they understood their records.

We shall devote a separate chapter to an explanation of their use. When there were many messages, the number of runners was increased, and eight to twelve were placed in each hut. They had another way of sending messages, which was by raising smoke at each station by day, or a

flame by night. For this purpose the *Chasquis* always had the fire ready, and it was constantly watched, so that it might be ready the moment an occasion arose. This method of sending news by fires was only adopted when there was a rebellion in some great province, so that the Ynca might know it within two or three hours at the most (even if the outbreak was at a distance of 500 or 600 leagues from the Court) and give the necessary orders the moment the insurrection was reported. Such were the duties of the *Chasquis*, and their method of carrying messages.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THEY COUNTED BY STRINGS AND KNOTS. THE ACCOUNTANTS WERE VERY ACCURATE.

Quipu means to knot, or a knot, and it was also understood as an account, because the knots supplied an account of everything. The Indians made strings of various colours. Some were all of one colour, others of two combined, others of three, others more; and these colours, whether single or combined, all had a meaning. The strings were closely laid up in three or four strands, about the girth of an iron spindle, and three quarters of a vara long.* They were strung on a thicker cord, from which they hung in the manner of a fringe. The thing to which a string referred was understood by its colour: for instance, a yellow string referred to gold, a white one to silver, and a red one to soldiers.

Things which had no colour were arranged according to their importance, beginning with that of most consequence, and proceeding in order to the most insignificant; each

* About two feet.

under its generic head, such as the different kinds of grain under corn, and the pulses in the same way. We will place the cereals and pulses of Spain in their order, as an example. First would come wheat, next barley, next beans, next millet. In the same way when they recorded the quantity of arms. First they placed those that were considered most noble, such as lances, next darts, next bows and arrows, then shields, then axes, and then slings. In enumerating the vassals they first gave the account of the natives of each village, and next of those of the whole province combined. On the first string they put only men of sixty and upwards, on the second those of fifty, on the third those of forty, and so on down to the babies at the breast. The women were counted in the same order.

Some of these strings had other finer ones of the same colour attached to them, to serve as supplements or exceptions to the chief record. Thus, if the main string of men of a certain age had reference to the married people, the supplementary string gave the number of widowers of the same age in that year. For these accounts were made up annually, and only related to one year. The knots indicated units, tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands, but they rarely or never went beyond that; because each village was taken by itself, and each district, and neither ever reached to a number beyond tens of thousands, though there were plenty within that limit. But if it was necessary to record a number equal to hundreds of thousands, they could do it, for in their language they were able to express any number known in arithmetic; but as they had no occasion to go beyond tens of thousands, they did not use higher numbers. These numbers were counted by knots made on the threads, each number being divided from the next. But the knots for each number were made together in one company, like the knots represented on the girdle of the ever blessed Patriarch St. Francis; and this could easily

be done as there were never more than nine, seeing that the units, tens, etc., do not exceed that number. On the uppermost knot they put the highest number, which was the tens of thousands, on the next below the thousands, and so on to the units. The knots of each number, and each thread, were placed in a line with each other, exactly in the way a good accountant places his figures to make a long addition sum. These knots or *Quipus* were in charge of Indians who were called *Quipu-camayu*, which means "He who has charge of the accounts." Although there was, at that time, little difference of character among the Indians, because owing to their gentle dispositions and excellent government all might be called good, yet the best, and those who had given the longest proofs of their fitness, were selected for these and other offices. They were not given away from motives of favouritism, because these Indians were never influenced by such considerations, but from considerations of special fitness. Nor were these either sold or farmed out, for they knew nothing of renting, buying, or selling, having no money. They exchanged one article of food for another, and no more; for they neither sold clothes, nor houses, nor estates.

The *Quipucamayus* being so trustworthy and honest, as we have described, their number was regulated according to the population in each village; for, however small the village might be, there were four accountants in it, and from that number up to twenty or thirty; though all used the same register. Thus, as only one account was kept, one accountant would have been sufficient; but the Yncas desired that there should be several in each village to act as checks upon each other, and they said that where there were many all must be in fault or none.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT WAS NOTED IN THE ACCOUNTS: AND HOW THEY WERE UNDERSTOOD.

The *Quipu-camayus* noted, by means of the knots, all the tribute that was given to the Ynca every year, specifying each household and its peculiar mode of service. They also recorded the number of men who went to the wars, those who died in them, those who were born, and those who died in each month. In fine they recorded every thing relating to numbers by means of the knots, even putting down the battles that were fought, the embassies that had been sent to the Ynca, and the numbers of speeches and arguments that were used by the envoys. But neither the words nor the reasoning, nor any historical event could be expressed by the knots. For there was no means of conveying the words that were spoken, the knots expressing numbers only, and not words. To remedy this defect they had signs by which they conveyed an idea of historical events, and of reasonings and speeches made in peace or war. These speeches were preserved by the Indian *Quipu-camayus* in their memories, by means of short sentences giving the general meaning, which were committed to memory, and taught to their successors, so that they were handed down from father to son. This was specially practised in the particular village or province where the event in question had occurred, and there it was remembered more than in any other place, because the natives valued their traditions. They had another way of preserving the memory of historical events, and of embassies sent to the Yncas. The *Amautas*, who were their learned men, took care to put them into the form of brief narratives, as short as fables, which were told to children and youths, and to the common people; so that, by passing from one to another,

they might be preserved in the memories of all. They also recounted their histories in the form of allegories, as we have related of some, and shall hereafter relate of others. Then the *Haravicus*, who were their poets, composed short, pithy verses, in which the historical event was condensed. Thus they cast into traditional verse all that the knots were unable to record; and these verses were sung at their triumphs and festivals. They likewise recited tales to the Yncas when the knights were armed, and thus they preserved the memory of past events. But, as experience has shown, all these were perishable expedients, for it is letters that perpetuate the memory of events. As the Yncas had not attained to a knowledge of them, they invented such substitutes as they were able. They appointed historians and counters of the knots, whom they called *Quipu-camayu*, which means he who has charge of the *Quipus*, that they might, by means of the knots and the colours of the threads, and with the aid of poetry, write or otherwise retain the tradition of past deeds. This was the method of writing which the Yncas employed in their government.

The *Quipu-camayus* were referred to by the Curacas and chiefs of provinces to tell the historical events relating to their ancestors which they desired to know, or any other notable circumstance which had happened in their provinces. For these officers, like scribes and historians, kept the registers or *Quipus* handed down by their predecessors, and were bound by their office to study them constantly by means of the signs and indications in the knots, so as to preserve the memory of the tradition respecting famous past events. It was their duty to narrate these events when called upon to do so; and for this service they were exempted from other tribute. Thus the meaning of knots was never allowed to slip from their heads.

By the same means they gave an account of the laws, ordinances, rites, and ceremonies. From the colour of the

thread or the number in the knot they could tell the law that prohibited such and such an offence, and the punishment to be inflicted on the transgressor of it. They could set forth the sacrifices and ceremonies that should be performed on such and such festivals; could declare the rule or ordinance in favour of the widows or the poor; and could give an account, in short, of all things preserved by tradition in their memories. Thus each thread and knot brought to the mind that which it was arranged that it should suggest, just as the commandments and articles of our Holy Catholic faith, and the works of mercy, are remembered by the numbers under which they are placed. In the same way the Indians remembered, by means of the knots, the things which their fathers and grandfathers had taught them by tradition, which things they received with great attention and veneration as sacred matters relating to their idolatry or to the laws of their Yncas; and they succeeded in preserving them in their memories, for want of a knowledge of writing. But the Indian who had not received the traditions by means of his memory was as uninformed concerning them as a Spaniard or any other stranger. I examined the *Quipus* and knots with my father's Indians and other Curacas, when they came to Cuzco to pay their tribute on Christmas or St. John's day. The strange Curacas asked my mother to order me to verify their accounts, because, being a suspicious people, they would not trust the Spaniards to deal fairly with them. Thus I compared their tribute with the accounts on the knots, and soon came to understand them as well as the Indians themselves.

CHAPTER X.

THE YNCA PACHACUTEC VISITS HIS EMPIRE. HE CONQUERS THE HUANCA NATION.

The Ynca Uira-ccocha being dead, he was succeeded by his legitimate son, Pachacutec Ynca, who, after having most solemnly observed the obsequies of his father, occupied three years in arranging the affairs of his empire, without leaving the capital. Afterwards he personally visited all the provinces one by one; and although he might find no need to punish, as the governors and royal officers took care to act justly on pain of death, yet these Kings delighted in making tours of inspection from time to time, lest the officials should become careless and tyrannical, owing to the long absence and neglect of their prince. They also undertook these journeys, that the vassals might have opportunities of making complaints to the Ynca face to face. They would not receive the complaints through a third person, lest such an one, through favour or partiality, should diminish the fault or the extent of the injury. It is certain that these King Yncas took extreme care to administer equal justice, according to the laws of nature, to small and great, poor and rich alike; so that none could receive injury. They were beloved by the Indians for their rectitude and uprightness, and their memory will be revered for many ages by the people.

Pachacutec passed another three years inspecting his dominions, and then returned to his court. It then seemed to him right to devote some time in warlike exercise, and not to spend it all in peaceful idleness, with the excuse of administering justice: such conduct seeming to savour of cowardice. So he ordered thirty thousand men to be assembled, and marched in the direction of the Chincha-suyu region, accompanied by his brother Ccapac Yupanqui, a gallant

prince who was worthy of the name. They advanced to Vilca, which was the last district that had been conquered in that direction.

Thence the Ynca sent his brother to conquer more territory, well provided with all things necessary for the war. He entered a province called Sausa, which the Spaniards have corrupted into Xauxa, a most beautiful country, containing more than thirty thousand inhabitants, all of one race and ruled by one man. The name of the tribe was Huanca. They pretend to a descent from one man and one woman, who came out of a fountain. The Huancas were a warlike people, who burnt their prisoners taken in war, preserving a few bits of skin out of the ashes, which they placed in a temple as trophies of their prowess. They also made drums of the skin, saying that their enemies would hear them, and knowing they were the skins of their people, would run away at the sound. Their villages were small, but well fortified, after the manner of the fortresses that these people built. For, though they were all of one race, they had disputes respecting the ownership of the cultivable land, and the boundaries of each village.

In the ancient times of their idolatry, before they were conquered by the Yncas, these people worshipped the figure of a dog and had it in their temples as an idol, and they considered the flesh of a dog to be most savoury meat. It may be supposed that they worshipped the dog because they were fond of its flesh; and their greatest festival was the repast they prepared with dog's meat. To show their devotion to dogs, they made a sort of trumpet of their heads which, when they played at their feasts and dances, made a music that was very sweet to their ears; and when they went to war they also played on these trumpets to terrify and astonish their enemies, saying that the power of their god caused those two contrary effects. To those who honoured him the trumpet sounded sweetly, while it frightened

those who were enemies, and made them fly before it. The Yncas put an end to all these follies and cruelties; although, as a memorial of their antiquity, it was decreed that, as formerly they made trumpets of the heads of dogs, they should henceforth make them of the heads of deer. They still play on such instruments in their festivals and dances. The Huancas were given a nickname owing to their delight in the flesh of dogs, which has lasted to this day. When any one names a Huanca, he generally adds "dog eater." They also had an idol in the form of a man, from which the Devil spoke. They asked what they liked, and he answered. The Huancas were allowed to retain this idol after the conquest, because it was an oracle, and was not in opposition to the Ynca idolatry; but the dog idols were destroyed, as the Yncas would not allow their people to worship the figures of animals.

Ccapac Yupanqui conquered this powerful nation, that was so fond of dogs, more by persuasion and kindness than by force of arms; for the Yncas professed to be masters rather of the minds than of the bodies of men. After the Huancas had been quieted, the Prince ordered their country to be divided into three provinces, in order to get rid of their disputes about boundaries, and he caused the land to be properly marked out and divided. One province was called Sausa, another Marcavilca, and a third Llacsapalanca. The Prince ordered that the head-dress of the people, which was in the same fashion throughout that country, should be a different colour to distinguish the natives of the three provinces. The whole region was called Huanca, as we have already said. In these times the Spaniards do not know why one of the provinces is called Huancavilca, for there is another of that name near Tumbez, nearly three hundred leagues from this one, which is near the city of Huamanca, one on the coast, and the other far inland. We mention this that the reader may not confuse the two; and

further on we shall speak of the other Huancavilca, where some strange events happened.

CHAPTER XI.

OF OTHER PROVINCES THAT WERE CONQUERED BY THE YNCA, OF THEIR CUSTOMS, AND OF THE PUNISHMENT OF UNNATURAL CRIMES.

With the same skill and ability, the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui subdued many other districts in that region, on the right and left of the royal road. The chief of these were Tarma and Pumpu, which the Spaniards call Bombon, both very fertile provinces; and they were subjugated with great ease by dint of Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui's good management, gifts, and promises, although they were inhabited by a warlike race. This was not done without some skirmishes, in which a few were killed, but finally they yielded after slight resistance in comparison with what it was feared they might show. The natives of these provinces of Tarma and Pumpu, and of the neighbouring ones, had a custom of celebrating their marriages by the bridegroom giving the bride a kiss, either on the forehead or the cheek. Widows shaved their heads in sign of mourning, and were not allowed to marry within the year. Men, when they observed fasts, neither ate meat, nor salt, nor pepper, nor did they sleep with their wives. Those who were specially religious, and were a sort of priests, fasted all through the year for their dead.

Having subjugated Tarma and Pumpu, the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui advanced to the eastward in the direction of the Antis, conquering other districts. These countries were in a state of anarchy, without order or government. The people had neither villages, nor gods, nor any of the inventions of

man. They lived like wild beasts on the hills and plains, killing each other without knowing why. They recognised no chief, so that their land had no name; and this region extended over an area of thirty leagues north and south by the same width. These people, when they submitted to the Ynca Pachacutec, became very docile and obedient, forming villages and learning the laws of the Yncas. There is nothing more to relate until the province of Chucurpu was reached, which was inhabited by a barbarous and warlike race, with evil customs, who in accordance with them, worshipped a tiger for its ferocity and daring.

This nation, being so fierce and so barbarous that the people would not hear reason, obliged the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui to have recourse to force. In the battles that took place more than four thousand Indians were killed on both sides, but finally those of Chucurpu submitted, first feeling the power, and then experiencing the piety and kindness of the Ynca. For they saw that often, when he could have destroyed them, he did not do so, and that when they were most hardly pressed he granted them peace, and showed them kindness and clemency. For these reasons they thought it well to submit to the government of the Ynca Pachacutec, and to embrace his laws and customs, adoring the sun and setting aside the tiger, which they had formerly looked upon as a god, as well as the idolatry and mode of life of their ancestors.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui was rejoiced that this nation should submit, because as they had shown themselves to be fierce and intractable, he feared he would either have had to destroy them, or to leave them as they were before; and either course would have been a loss to the reputation of the Yncas. So he established peace with the Chucurpu province with much joy, giving the people many presents. He left governors and the necessary officials to teach the Indians and for the administration of the revenues of the Sun

and the Ynca, as well as garrisons to secure the new conquest.

He then went to the right of the royal road and, by means of the same persuasion, (for we abbreviate his acts to avoid repetition) he conquered two other large and populous districts. One was called Ancara, and the other Huayllas. He left in these, as in the others, the usual officials and garrisons. In the province of Huayllas he most severely punished some criminals who, very secretly, practised an abominable vice. And such a crime had never been known or heard of before amongst the Indians of the Sierra, although as we have before mentioned, it had been found to exist in the coast valleys, so that great scandal was excited by its discovery among the Huayllas. This scandal gave rise to a saying among the Indians of those times, which is remembered to this day as a stigma on those people. It says, *Astaya* Huayllas,* which means "Go hence, Huayllas," with reference to their ancient crime, though it was practised by very few and very secretly, and was well punished by the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui.

Having made the arrangements that we have described, it appeared to Ccapac Yupanqui that he had acquired sufficient territory for the present. He had annexed a region which was sixty leagues long from north to south, and its width extended from the coast plains to the great snowy chain of the Andes. So he returned to Cuzco after an absence of three years, where he found his brother the Ynca Pachacutec, who received him with triumphant festivities in honour of his victories, which lasted a moon, for in the time of the Yncas they counted by moons.

* Imperative of *Astani,* "I carry."

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE EDIFICES, LAWS, AND NEW CONQUESTS WHICH THE YNCA PACHACUTEC MADE.

The Ynca showed much favour, and gave many presents to the masters of the camp, captains, and Curacas who had served in the campaign, as well as to the soldiers, who always had their share of notice; for the care of the Ynca extended to all. The festivities and rewards being completed, he resolved to pass some months in inspecting the provinces, which was the greatest benefit he could confer on them. On this occasion he ordered richer and nobler temples to the Sun to be built in the provinces, and also founded houses for the virgins, for one was never built without the other. These acts were looked upon as great favours by the natives of the provinces where the edifices were built, because they made them citizens of Cuzco. Besides the temples, he ordered fortresses to be built on the frontiers, and royal palaces in the valleys and most pleasant and delightful places, as well as on the roads, where the Yncas might lodge when they marched with their armies. He also caused stores to be made in the special villages where provisions were kept, to guard against years of scarcity, wherewith to relieve the people.

He ordained many laws and special rules, at the same time preserving the ancient customs of those provinces to which the new regulations applied. For these kings thought good to allow to each nation the use of the customs they formerly had, so long as they were not opposed to the idolatry and laws of the Yncas. For the aim was not to tyrannize, but to raise the conquered people from a savage to a human mode of life, leaving all that was not against the laws of nature, which were what the Yncas most desired to observe.

Having passed three years in this tour of inspection, the Ynca returned to Cuzco, where he spent some months in feasting and pleasure; after which he conferred with his brother, who was the second person in the empire, and with his councillors, touching the further prosecution of conquests in the Chincha-suyu region, for only in that direction were there any provinces of sufficient value to merit the trouble of subjugation. All in the direction of Anti-suyu, on the other side of the great snowy mountains, were covered with dense forests.

They arranged that the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui should again command the army, as he had shown so much prudence and valour in the former campaign, as well as all the other qualifications of a great captain. He was to take with him the prince who was heir to the empire, and his nephew, named Ynca Yupanqui. He was a lad of sixteen years, and had been initiated as a knight with all the ceremonies of the *Huaracu*, which we shall describe at large further on, in that very year. His father desired that he should acquire experience in the art of war, which was so highly esteemed by the Yncas. They assembled fifty thousand soldiers. The Yncas, uncle and nephew, setting out with the first third of the force, marched as far as the province called Chucurpu, which was the last in the empire, in that direction.

Thence they sent the usual summons to a province called Pincu; and the inhabitants, both seeing that it was useless to resist the power of the Yncas, and knowing how good they were to all their vassals, replied that they rejoiced to become a part of the empire of the Yncas, and to receive their laws. Having received this answer, the Yncas entered the province, and sent thence a similar summons to the other neighbouring districts, the chief among which are Huaras, Piscopampa, and Cunchucu. These, instead of following the example of Pincu, rose in arms, assembled together, and setting aside their local animosities, resolved

to combine in defending themselves against a common enemy. Their reply was that they would rather all die than receive new laws and customs, and worship new gods; that they did not want them, and did very well with their ancient customs, which had been those of their ancestors, and well known in ages gone by; and that the Ynca ought to be satisfied with what he had already tyrannically seized, having, with the excuse of religion, usurped the lordships of so many Curacas.

Having sent this reply, and seeing that they could not resist the power of the Ynca in the open country, they agreed to retire to their fastnesses, carry off the supplies, break up the roads, and defend the difficult passes: all which they prepared to execute with great speed and diligence.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE YNCA SUBDUES THESE PROVINCES BY HUNGER AND MILITARY STRATEGY.

The General Ccapac Yupanqui was not the least put out when he received the defiant and insolent reply of the enemy, for his magnanimity enabled him to receive, with the same composure, both good and evil words, as well as good or ill success. But he did not neglect to prepare his army, and, having received intelligence that the enemy had retired into their fastnesses, he divided his force into four parts of ten thousand men each, each division advancing to the fastness which was nearest, with orders not to engage the enemy, but to blockade their positions, and reduce them by hunger. The general himself, with his nephew, remained to give assistance wherever it might be called for. And to

provide against any chance of the supplies of provisions running short, owing to everything having been carried off by the enemy, the general sent to ask his brother the Ynca to order the surrounding districts to collect and forward to his camp double the usual quantity.

Having taken these precautions, the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui awaited the result of the war, which broke out fiercely, with much loss of life on both sides, because the enemy defended the roads with great obstinacy, and, when they saw that the Ynca did not assault their strongholds they sallied out from them and fought with desperation, throwing themselves on the arms of their opponents, and the natives of each of the three provinces vying with each other as to which should show the most resolute valour, and so excel the other two.

The Yncas merely stood on the defensive, waiting until hunger and the other sufferings caused by war should oblige them to yield; and when women and children were found in the fields or in the abandoned villages, they were fed and treated with kindness, and then sent to their fathers and husbands to show them that the Yncas did not come to oppress them but to improve their condition. This was also done as an act of military strategy, so that the enemy might have more mouths to maintain, more to guard and take care of, and be more hampered than they would have been without women and children. It was also thought that the hunger and suffering of their children would afflict them more than their own hardships, and that the weeping of the women would cause the men to lose heart, and surrender more readily.

The enemy did not fail to recognise the kindness with which their women and children had been treated, but their obstinacy was such that they would not give way to any grateful feeling, being rather hardened than otherwise by these benefits.

Thus both sides persisted in the war for five or six months,

until the besieged began to feel hunger, and to see their people becoming feebler than the children, and more delicate than the women. These evils increased more and more until, with common consent of captains and soldiers, each fortress appointed ambassadors to go, in all humility, to the Yncas, ask pardon for the past, and offer obedience and homage for the future.

The Yncas received them with their accustomed clemency, and, with the kindest words they could think of, admonished the conquered people to return to their homes and, by continuing good vassals, merit the favour of the Ynca, so that the past might be forgiven, and never more remembered.

The ambassadors returned to those who had sent them, very well satisfied at the good result of their mission, and, as soon as the reply of the Yncas was known, there was great rejoicing. In obedience to the mandate they returned to their villages, where their necessities were relieved; and the double supplies which the Ynça Ccapac Yupanqui had applied for at the beginning of the war, proved to be much needed. For the vanquished people had a year of scarcity, having lost all their crops through the war. In addition to food, they were provided with the necessary officers for the administration of justice and of the revenues, and for teaching the new idolatry.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE GOOD CURACA HUAMACHUCU, AND HOW HE WAS SUBDUED.

The Ynca, passing onwards in his conquest, arrived on the confines of the great province called Huamachucu, where there was a great lord of the same name, who had the fame of being very wise and prudent. The usual messages offer-

ing him peace and friendship, and better laws and customs, were sent to him. It is the truth that his people were barbarous and cruel, and that their sacrifices were most savage. They worshipped stones that they found on the river banks, of different colours, such as jaspar, thinking that the two colours, combined in one stone, could only be caused by a great deity residing in it. They carried this folly so far as to keep stones in their houses, treating them as gods, and sacrificing human flesh and blood to them. These people had no villages, but lived in scattered huts in the fields, without any order or social rules, like beasts. All this the good Huamachucu desired to reform, but he did not dare to attempt it, lest they should kill his followers, saying that they wanted to change their way of living, insult their religion, and the habits of their ancestors. This fear forced him to repress his good intentions, and he, naturally, received the message of the Ynca with much satisfaction.

Using his own good judgment, he replied that he rejoiced greatly to find that the empire of the Yncas, and their banners, were extended to the borders of his land; that the news he had heard respecting their religion and good government had led him to desire, during many years past, to have the Ynca for his lord and king; that the enemies that intervened, and the duty of not abandoning his government, had alone prevented him from going in search of the Ynca, to offer him obedience, and to worship the child of the Sun; and that, his desires being at length accomplished, he would receive the Yncas with joy, and he trusted he would himself be admitted as a vassal, and that his people would receive the same favours from the Ynca as had been conferred upon other provinces.

On receiving the cordial invitation of the great Huamachucu, the prince Ynca Yupanqui, and the general his uncle, entered the province. The Curacas came forth to meet them with presents of all there was in the country, and

placing the gifts before them, worshipped them with great reverence. The general received them with much kindness, and in the name of the Ynca his brother, promised the chief both the love and good will of his new lord. The young prince then ordered much cloth from the stores of his father, to be given as well to the Curaca as to his relations, and to the chief men of the country. Besides this favour, which the Indians valued highly, they received favours and privileges as a reward for the love they had shown for the service of the Ynca. The Ynca Pachacutec, and his successors, made a great favourite of this Huamachucu and his descendants, and ennobled his province because it had been annexed to the empire in the way that has been described.

At the end of the festivals in honour of having received the Ynca as his lord, the great Curaca Huamachucu prayed the captain general that he would at once take order for the reduction of his people to a better way of life, by improving their religion, laws and customs. He said that he well understood how bestial and ridiculous were those which his ancestors had left him, that he had long desired to reform them; but that he had not dared to do so, lest his own followers should be killed for contemning the laws of his predecessors. He explained that his people had been contented to live like brutes, but now that by good fortune the children of the Sun had reached his land, he prayed that reforms might be introduced, as those people were now the Ynca's vassals.

The Ynca was pleased at hearing this speech. He gave orders that, instead of scattered huts, the people should collect in villages built in streets, on the best sites that could be found. He commanded that they should have no other god than the Sun, and that they should throw away the painted stones which they kept in their houses as idols, saying they were more fitted for boys to play with, than for men to worship. He directed them to comply with the

laws and customs of the Yncas, and provided officials to teach the new order of things in each village.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PEOPLE OF CASAMARCA RESIST AND EVENTUALLY SUBMIT.

The Yncas, having arranged everything to the satisfaction of the good Huamachucu, marched to the confines of Casamarca, since famous for the imprisonment of Atahualpa. It was a large and fertile province, inhabited by a populous and warlike race. The invaders sent the usual summons, that the people might not be able to allege afterwards that they had been taken unawares.

The people of Casamarca, being a warlike and valiant race, when they beheld the war of conquest approaching their territory, had prepared arms and provisions, fortified their strongholds, and occupied the difficult passes on the roads. Their reply to the summons was sent with much scorn. It was that they had no need either of new gods, or of a new chief to give them new and strange laws; that they already had all the laws they required, which were settled by their ancestors, and therefore wanted no novelties; and that the Yncas should be satisfied with those who chose to obey them, but that they would have neither their friendship nor their sovereignty, and would die in defence of their liberty.

As soon as the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui received this reply he advanced to the boundaries of Casamarca, where the natives, like brave men, advanced to the difficult passes, ready to fight for victory or death. The Ynca was anxious to avoid an encounter, but this was impossible, because, to advance further, it was necessary to occupy the passes by

force of arms. These passes were obstinately defended and many were killed on both sides. There was much bloodshed also in some battles that were fought on the open ground. But the power of the Yncas was too great for successful resistance in the open, and the natives retreated to their strongholds, where they intended to defend themselves. Thence they made frequent sallies, and many were killed on both sides. Thus the war continued for four months, the delay being caused more by the desire of the Yncas to spare them than by their own power, though they resisted with bravery and fortitude, but not with the same energy as at first.

During the war the Yncas did all the good that was possible to their enemies, so as to vanquish them by kindness. The prisoners taken in battle were set free, with many kind words, and offers of peace to their Curacas; their wounds were dressed, and as soon as they were cured they were set free with presents, and told that as often as they were wounded and taken prisoners they would be cured and set free, for that the Yncas wished to conquer as Yncas, and not as cruel and tyrannical enemies. The women and children that were found concealed in woods and caves, were given presents and sent to their fathers and husbands, with entreaties not to persist in their obstinacy, for that it was useless to fight against the children of the Sun.

After these and similar acts of kindness had been continued for a long time, the men of Casamarca began to soften the hardness and ferocity of their hearts, and, little by little, turn it over in their minds whether it would be a bad thing to be subject to a people who, though able to kill, still treated them so mercifully. Besides, they saw that the power of the Ynca increased day by day, while theirs lessened every hour, and that hunger was pressing them so severely that very soon they would be more likely to perish than to be able to conquer and resist the Ynca. After consulting

the chief men, the Curaca at last determined to accept the terms offered by the Yncas, before, through their obstinacy and ingratitude, they were withdrawn. So he sent ambassadors, saying that having experienced both the clemency and kindness of the Yncas, and the power of their arms, he was ready to confess that they deserved to be lords of the world, and that with good reason those who showed such mercy to their enemies were called children of the Sun. Such acts gave a surety that the benefits received by those who submitted would be even greater. He continued his message by saying that his people repented of their hardness and ingratitude in not having before acknowledged the benefits they had received; and that they besought the prince, and his uncle the general, to pardon their rebellion, and to intercede for them with the Ynca, that he might receive them as vassals.

The ambassadors could scarcely have arrived when the Curaca of Casamarca and his chiefs resolved to go themselves and ask pardon for their faults, so as the more easily to move the Yncas to compassion. They, therefore, came in the most submissive way possible, and, presenting themselves to the prince and the Ynca general, they adored them according to their customs, and repeated the same words that they had entrusted to the ambassadors. The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, in place of his nephew the prince, received them courteously, and spoke to them with much kindness, saying that he pardoned them in the name of the Ynca his brother, and of the prince his nephew, and received them into his service as vassals. He added that on their parts they must perform the duties by which they would merit the favour of the Ynca, who would not fail to treat them as his father the Sun had commanded, and that they must become peaceful, live in villages, and then ask for such favours as would be good for them.

The Curaca, with his people, again worshipped the Yncas,

and said, in the name of the rest, they now saw that their conquerors were children of the Sun, and that they held themselves fortunate to have found such lords, whom they would serve as good vassals. Having said this they took their leave and returned to their homes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUEST OF YAUYU, AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE YNCAS, UNCLE AND NEPHEW.

The Ynca general valued this success very highly, because this province was one of the best in the whole empire of his brother. He took measures to reduce it to order, and caused the ruined houses to be converted into well laid out villages. He gave directions for plans to be prepared for a temple of the Sun and a convent of the chosen virgins. These buildings were afterwards increased in the grandeur of their ornaments and appointments until they came to be among the grandest in all Peru. Masters were appointed to teach the new idolatry, and officials to look after the revenues, as well as engineers to construct water-courses and extend the area of land under cultivation. Garrisons were left to secure the conquest.

These things being settled, the general began his return march to Cuzco, intending to conquer a corner of land that had been passed by on the outward march, because it was far from the road. This province, called Yauyu, is in a rugged country, and was inhabited by a warlike people; but notwithstanding this, it was considered that twelve thousand men would be sufficient to subdue it. The general ordered them to be selected, and dismissed the other troops, that they might not have more work than was necessary. Ar-

riving on the confines of the province, the usual offers of peace or war were despatched.

The Yauyus assembled and discussed the subject. Opinions were divided. Some said that they should all die, defending their gods and their country. Others, who were more prudent, declared that such councils were manifestly absurd and rash; that any one might see the futility of attempting to defend the country against the Yncas, who had surrounded it on all sides; that other more powerful provinces had been unable to resist, and that they should not commit a greater fault than any of the other nations; that, according to all they could hear, the Yncas treated their vassals in a way that should rather make them desire their arrival, than detest their rule. From all this it was argued that they should quietly submit, for that to resist was evident madness, seeing that, if the Yncas saw fit, they could take the mountains that surrounded the province, and bury the rebels under them.

This advice prevailed, and the people with one accord joyfully received the Yncas. The general showed much kindness to the Curaca and his relations and chiefs. He ordered much fine cloth, called *Compi*, to be given to them; and plenty of the coarser kind, called *Auasca*, to the common people. So all were well satisfied at having secured such a lord and king.

The Yncas, uncle and nephew, continued their march to Cuzco, leaving the usual officials in Yauyu for the government of the people and the care of the revenue. The Ynca Pachacutec came out to receive his brother, and the prince his son, with solemn triumph. He ordered that they should enter the city, borne in litters on the shoulders of natives of the provinces they had conquered.

All the people of the city marched in battalions according to the provinces of which they were natives, with their Curacas leading them, with instruments, such as drums

trumpets and shells, according to the usage in their own provinces; and new songs were composed with appropriate words, in praise of the excellent deeds of the captain-general, Ccapac Yupanqui, and of the prince, his nephew, Ynca Yupanqui, in whose excellent conduct his father, relations, and vassals, found great consolation. Behind the captives and citizens came the soldiers, with their weapons in their hands, marching according to their provinces, and also singing songs, to celebrate the deeds of the Yncas in the war. These songs declared the greatness and excellence of the Yncas, their courage and bravery in battle, their skill and perseverance in arranging the movements of their troops; their patience and kindness in suffering the insolence of the enemy, their clemency and charity to the vanquished, their liberality to the captains and soldiers, their prudence and wisdom in all their acts. They repeated the names of the Yncas, uncle and nephew, many times, declaring that their virtues richly entitled them to such grand and exalted names. After the soldiers came the Yncas of the blood-royal, with weapons in their hands, as well as those who came out from the city as those who had been in the war, all marching together, without distinction; for any deed performed by a few or many Yncas was looked upon as common to all, and as if the whole family had been engaged in it.

In the midst of the Yncas came the general, with the prince on his right hand, and next to them was the Ynca Pachacutec in his litter of gold. In this order they proceeded until they came to the precincts of the temple of the Sun, when the Yncas all alighted and took off their shoes, except the king, and advanced to the door of the temple, when the king himself removed his shoes, and entered with all those of the blood-royal, but no others. Having worshipped and offered up thanks for the victories, they returned to the principal square of the city, where the festival was

celebrated with songs and dances, and much eating and drinking, which was the principal thing in their festivals.

Each nation, according to seniority, rose up and danced and sung before the Ynca, according to the fashion of the particular country, bringing servants, who played drums and other instruments, and replied to the chorus. Having finished their dance, they drank to each other; and presently others rose up to dance, and then others, so that the dancing lasted all day. In this way they celebrated this triumphal reception for a whole month; and they had done the same on occasion of all their other triumphs; but we had not before described them because this of Ccapac Yupanqui was the most solemn that had ever been solemnized.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE YNCAS SUBDUE TWO COAST VALLEYS, AND THE CHINCHAS ANSWER THEIR MESSAGE WITH DEFIANCE.

After this festival the Yncas rested for three or four years without waging any war, devoting all their attention to the embellishment of the conquered provinces with new edifices, and to their administration. After having allowed their people to remain at peace for so long a time, they turned their attention to the subjugation of the coast valleys, for hitherto their conquests in that direction had only extended to the valley of Nanasca. Having held a council of war, orders were issued to assemble thirty thousand soldiers to march at once to the war, while a reserve of another thirty thirty thousand men was prepared, so that the invading army could be relieved every two months. This arrangement was made because the coast valleys are unhealthy, and dangerous for those who have been born and bred in the Sierra.

The troops having been raised, the Ynca Pachacutec ordered that the thirty thousand reserves should remain in the nearest villages, to be ready at the first call, while the other thirty thousand marched to invade the new country. The three Yncas marched with this army, that is to say, the king, the Prince Ynca Yupanqui, and the General Ccapac Yupanqui. They advanced by regular stages until they reached the provinces called Rucana and Hatan-rucana, where the Ynca resolved to remain; this being a position whence he could instil vigour into the warlike operations, and superintend, at the same time, the internal administration.

The Yncas, uncle and nephew, continued their march to Nanasca, whence they sent messages to the valley of Yca, which is to the northward, with the usual demands. The natives asked for time to discuss their reply, and eventually answered that they were willing to receive the Ynca as their lord, because they had seen the gentleness and goodness of the government of the Yncas, as it had long been administered amongst their neighbours in the valley of Nanasca. The same answer was given by the natives of the valley of Pisco, although they found some difficulty owing to the vicinity of the great valley of Chincha. The natives of Chincha offered to aid them in resisting, but those of Pisco decided that such succour could never be sufficient to enable them to resist the power of the Yncas. The people of Pisco, therefore, adopted more prudent counsels, and accepted the laws and customs of the Ynca, promising to worship the sun as their god, and to cast aside their old gods as abominations.

The valley of Yca, like all the other coast valleys, is fertile, and these kings Yncas enriched it with a most splendid aqueduct, which they ordered to be constructed from the mountains.* It was well supplied with water. They

* Garcilasso is mistaken. It was in the valley of Nasca or Nanasca,

changed the course of the water with admirable skill, making it flow in the directions where it was wanted. For the river in this valley has very little water in the summer, and the Indians suffer much from drought in raising their crops, and often, where there was little rain in the mountains, they lost their harvest for want of irrigation. But, with the help of this aqueduct, which was larger than the river, they doubled the extent of cultivated land, and from henceforward they lived in great abundance and prosperity. It was such words as these which caused the Indians, whether conquered or not, to love the government of the Yncas, whose vigilance and care they observed in constructing similar beneficial works in the valleys.

It must be understood that, as a general rule, the Indians of the coast, for an extent of five hundred leagues from Truxillo to Tarapaca, which are at the northern and southern extremities of Peru, worshipped the sea in the shape of fish (in addition to the special idols which were peculiar to each province), out of gratitude for the benefits they derived from it. Fish were used both as food and as manure. For in some parts of that coast they manured the fields with the heads of sardines. They called the sea *mama-ccocha*, which means "Mother sea," as if it acted the part of a mother in providing them with food. They also generally worshipped the whale for its great size and monstrosity; and, besides this, some provinces adored one kind of fish, and others another, according as they were most useful, and were caught in greatest quantity. This was, in brief, the idolatry of the Yuncas of the coast before they were brought under the dominion of the Yncas.

After they had acquired the two valleys of Yca and Pisco, the Yncas sent messengers to the great and powerful valley called Chincha (whence all that region which formed one of

not in that of Yca, that these magnificent irrigation works were constructed by the Yncas. They are still in good preservation.

the four quarters into which the empire of the Yncas was divided, was called Chincha-suyu) saying that the natives must either take up arms, or yield obedience to the Ynca Pachacutec, Child of the Sun.

The people of Chincha, confident in the number of soldiers they possessed, resolved upon defiance, and replied that they neither wanted the Ynca for their lord, nor the Sun for their god; that they already possessed both a lord to serve, and gods to worship; that their common god was the sea, which any one could see was a greater thing than the sun, for that it yielded them plenty of fish, while the sun did them no good at all, but rather annoyed them by its excessive heat; that their land was warm, and had no need of the sun, whilst those in the Sierra, where the country is cold, might well worship it, as they needed its heat. As for a king, they said they had one sprung from a family of their own land, and that they did not want a stranger, even if he was a child of the sun, for that they had no need either of the sun or of his children. They added that it was not necessary for them to take up arms, because those who sought them would find that their arms were always ready to defend their land, their liberty, and their god, especially the god they called *Chincha Camac,* who was the sustainer and creator of Chincha. They advised the Yncas to go home, and not to provoke a war with the lord and king of Chincha, who was a most powerful prince.

The people of Chincha say that their ancestors came from a distant land (though they do not state the locality) with a leader who was as religious as he was brave, and that they conquered this valley by force of arms, destroying the former inhabitants, which was not very difficult, as they were a vile, feeble race, who all perished without one remaining: thus giving place to another more powerful people.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE OBSTINACY OF THE CHINCHAS AND HOW THEY WERE FINALLY OVERCOME.

The Yncas marched towards Chincha as soon as they received the reply. The Curaca, who bore the same name of Chincha, came out with a large force beyond the bounds of the valley, to skirmish with the troops of the Yncas, but neither party could fight owing to the great quantity of sand, and the Yuncas fell back until they were in the valley again, where they opposed the entry of the Yncas; but were unable to do so without losing ground, which was occupied by the invaders. The war was carried on with great fury, and many were killed on both sides. The Yuncas fought in defence of their country, and the Yncas to add to their territory, and increase their fame.

The two armies remained for many days confronting each other, the Yncas frequently sending overtures for peace and amity, the Yuncas continuing in their obstinacy, confident that the heat of the climate would oblige the people of the *Sierra* to depart. They would hear of no terms, and each day became more confident in their vain belief. The Yncas, observing their ancient custom of not destroying their enemies in battle, but rather of overcoming them by kindness, allowed the time to slip by until the Yuncas should grow tired. After two months the Yncas gave orders that the army should be relieved, lest the heat of that land should bring on disease. Orders were sent for the reserve army to march rapidly to the front, and the forces hitherto engaged were thus relieved before they began to suffer from the climate.

The masters of the camp of the reserves made all possible haste and reached Chincha in a few days. The general Ccapac Yupanqui then dismissed his old troops, and gave

orders that another reserve force should be formed, in case a second relief should be found necessary. He also ordered that the prince, his nephew, should return with the troops that had been relieved, because it was not deemed advisable that further risk of loss of health or life should be run, by his remaining on the coast.

Having made these arrangements, the general began to carry on the war with more vigour, pressing more closely upon the enemy, and destroying the crops and fruits of the earth, that they might be straitened by hunger. He ordered the water-courses to be destroyed, so as to put a stop to irrigation on land which he could not desolate, which was what the Yuncas felt most; for the climate being so hot, and the power of the sun so great, it is necessary to irrigate the fields every three or four days that they may yield fruit.

Then the Yuncas, when they saw on the one hand that they were more closely pressed upon, and that their water-courses were destroyed, while on the other they lost the hope that the Yncas would depart from fear of the diseases of the coast valleys, in consequence of being relieved by a new army every three months, they lost some of their pride, but none of their obstinacy. During two more months they refused to accept the offers of peace and amity which the Yncas sent them every eight days. While the Yuncas did what they could to resist the attacks of the invaders, and patiently suffered the hardships of war, they also besought aid, with much devotion, from their god, Chincha Camac, especially the women who, with tears and sacrifices, prayed to him to deliver them from the power of the Yncas.

It must be understood that the Indians of this beautiful valley of Chincha had a famous idol, which they worshipped as god, called Chincha Camac. They raised up this god after the likeness of the unknown god, Pachacamac, whom the Yncas worshipped mentally, as we have already explained. The Chinchas did this because they knew that

the natives of another great valley near Chincha (of which we shall speak presently) had set up Pachacamac for their god, and built a famous temple. These people had learnt that the meaning of Pachacamac was "the sustainer of the universe," and it seemed to them that, as he had so much to sustain elsewhere, he would not be able to pay as much attention to Chincha as its inhabitants would expect. So they invented a god who should be the special sustainer of their valley, and called it Chincha Camac. Their faith in this god was the reason of their obstinacy, for they hoped that he would free them.

The Yncas, who were anxious not to destroy the Yuncas, suffered the inconveniences of war with great patience; but, though they killed as few as possible, they did not fail to press them with great vigour in every other way.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, seeing the contumacy of the Yuncas, and that he was losing time and reputation by waiting, while the patience already shown had sufficiently exhibited the merciful policy of his brother, the Ynca; considered that further kindness to the enemy might become cruelty to his own people, if they should fall sick owing to the effects of a hot climate on men unaccustomed to it. He, therefore, sent a message to the Yuncas, saying, that having now complied with the command of the Ynca, which was to draw people to obedience by kindness and not by severity, while they became more rebellious in proportion to the kindness they were shown, attributing his gentle treatment to cowardice, he now declared that unless they submitted within eight days he would put them all to death, and people their valley with a new race of men. He ordered the envoys to deliver this message, and to return without waiting for a reply.

The Yuncas were alarmed by this threat, for they saw that the Ynca had reason on his side, having waited long; while he might have carried on the war with fire and blood,

instead of treating them and their property with so much forbearance. After having discussed the matter they resolved not to irritate the Ynca and excite his anger, but to yield to his demands; and indeed hunger obliged them to do so. They sent ambassadors, praying for pardon and to be received as subjects, promising henceforth to be loyal and good vassals. Next day the Curaca, accompanied by his relations, went to kiss the Ynca's hand, and offer their homage in person.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE ALLEGED ANCIENT CONQUESTS OF THE YUNCAS.

The Ynca rejoiced much to see an end to this troublesome war, and received the great Yunca with much courtesy; saying many gracious words to him respecting his pardon, for the Curaca seemed to be much grieved and cast down at his offence. The Ynca told him to speak no more of it, nor to remember it, for that the Ynca his brother would forget it; and to show the rebel chief that he was pardoned, he showed him and his people many favours in the name of the Ynca, giving them dresses from the royal stores, at which they were all well satisfied.

These Indians of Chincha boast a great deal at the present day, saying that the Yncas could not subdue them in one campaign, but that they were obliged to invade their valley twice, being forced to retreat to their own territory the first time. They say this with reference to the reserve army, which took the place of the old troops and relieved them. They also say that it took the Yncas many years to conquer them; and that they were induced to yield more by their presents and promises, than by force of arms. Thus they

presume upon the kindness and forbearance of the Yncas, whose power, in those days, was such that if they had chosen to conquer Chincha by force, they could have done so with great ease. It is very easy for any one to boast, after the danger is over.

The natives of Chincha also say that, before they were conquered by the Yncas, they were so powerful and warlike that they often invaded other lands and carried off much plunder, and that the people of the Sierra feared them, because they sacked their villages, and often advanced as far as the province of Colla. All these statements are false, for these Yuncas are, for the most part, a lazy race, and to reach the Collas it is necessary to march nearly two hundred leagues, and to traverse larger and more populous provinces than their own. But what most clearly disproves the assertion is that the Yuncas, it being very hot in their valley, have never heard thunder, because it never rains, and if they had heard it in ascending the mountains they would have died of fear, or would have fled back to their own country. By all this it will be seen that the Yuncas tell wonderful tales in their own favour, at the expense of the natives of the *Sierra*.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, when he had given the necessary instructions for the government of Chincha, reported all that had happened to his brother, the Ynca, and besought him to send a new army to relieve the troops under his command, that he might proceed with the conquest of the Yuncas. In arranging the introduction of new laws and customs among the Chinchas, he learnt that there were many sodoms among them, whom he ordered to be seized. He burnt them all alive in one day, and caused their houses to be destroyed, their fields to be desolated, and their trees pulled up by the roots; that there might be no memory left of them, or even of anything their hands had planted. Their women and children were burnt for the sins of their fathers,

for this was a crime which the Yncas abominated beyond anything.

The King Ynca afterwards adorned this valley of Chincha by building in it a grand temple of the Sun and a house of chosen virgins. The valley contained more than thirty thousand inhabitants, and is one of the most beautiful in Peru. As the deeds and conquests of this king Pachacutec were numerous, and as to treat constantly of one subject becomes tedious, it seems desirable that I should divide his life and acts into two parts, and place between them an account of the two principal feasts which these kings celebrated in the days of their idolatry. Having completed this account, we will return to the narrative of the king's life.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRINCIPAL FESTIVAL OF THE SUN, AND HOW THEY PREPARED THEMSELVES FOR IT.

The word *Raymi* is equivalent to our word Easter. Among the four festivals which the Kings Yncas celebrated in the city of Cuzco, the most solemn was that in honour of the Sun, during the month of June. It was called *Yntip Raymi*, which means the "Solemn Feast of the Sun." They called this feast especially *Raymi*, and though the word was also used for other festivals, this was *the* Raymi, and took place in the June solstice.

They celebrated this festival of the Sun in acknowledgment that they held and adored Him as the sole and universal God who, by his light and power, creates and sustains all things on earth; and that He was the natural father of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac and of his wife Mama Ocllo Huaco, and of all their descendants, who were sent to this earth for

the benefit of all people. For these reasons, as they themselves say, this was their most solemn feast.

There were present at it all the chief captains not then employed in war, and all the Curacas, lords of vassals, from all parts of the empire, not because they were ordered to be present, but because they rejoiced to take part in the solemnities of so great a festival. For, as the ceremonies included the worship of the Sun God and of the Ynca their king, there was no one who did not desire to take part in it. When the Curacas were prevented, by old age or sickness, from being present, or by the public service or the long distance, they sent their sons and brothers, accompanied by the noblest of their kindred, to be at the festival in their place. The Ynca was there in person, if not prevented by absence at the wars or while inspecting the provinces.

The opening ceremonies were performed by the king himself as High Priest; for, although there was always a High Priest of the blood royal, who was legitimate uncle or brother of the Ynca, yet the Ynca himself officiated at this great festival, as first born of the Sun.

The Curacas came in all the splendour they could afford. Some wore dresses adorned with bezants of gold and silver, and with the same fastened as a circlet round their head-dresses. Others came in a costume neither more nor less than that in which Hercules is painted, wrapped in the skins of lions, with the heads fixed over their own. These were the Indians who claimed descent from a lion. Others came attired in the fashion that they paint angels, with great wing of the bird called *Cuntur*. These wings are black and white, and so long that the Spaniards have often killed birds measuring fourteen feet between the tips of the wings. These are the Indians who declare that they are descended from a *Cuntur*. The Yuncas came attired in the most hideous masks that can be imagined, and they appeared at the feasts making all sorts of grimaces, like fools and simpletons; and for this

purpose they brought instruments in their hands, such as badly-made flutes and tambourines, and pieces of skin, to assist them in their fooleries. Other Curacas wore various costumes to distinguish them, and each different tribe came with the arms with which they fought in war. Some had bows and arrows; others lances, darts, javelins, clubs, slings, axes with short handles, and two-handed axes with long handles.

They brought with them paintings of the deeds they had performed in the service of the Sun and of the Yncas, and also great drums and trumpets, with many musicians to play them. In short, they all came in the best attire they could procure, and attended by the grandest and most imposing retinue their means would admit of.

All prepared themselves for the *Raymi* of the Sun by a rigorous fast; for, in three days they ate nothing but a little unripe maize, and a few herbs called *Chucam*, with plain water. During this time no fire was lighted throughout the city, and all men abstained from sleeping with their wives.

After the fast, in the evening before the festival, the Ynca sacrificial Priests prepared the sheep and lambs for sacrifice, and got ready the other offerings of food and drink that were to be offered to the Sun. All these offerings had been provided by the people who came to the feast, not only the Curacas and envoys, but also all their relations, vassals, and servants.

The women of the Sun were engaged, during the night, in preparing an immense quantity of maize pudding called *Canca*. This was made up into small round cakes, about the size of an apple. It must be understood that the Indians never ate their corn kneaded and made into bread, except at this feast and at another called *Situa*, and they did not eat this bread during the whole meal, but only two or three mouthfuls of it at the beginning. Their usual food, in place of bread, was maize toasted or boiled in the grain.

The flour for this bread, especially for what was intended for the Ynca and those of the blood royal, was ground by the chosen virgins of the Sun, who cooked all the other food for this feast; that it might appear to be given rather by the Sun to his children than by his sons to him; and it was therefore prepared by the virgins, as women of the Sun.

Another vast assemblage of women ground the corn and cooked the food for the common people. And though the bread was intended for the people, it was yet prepared with care, because this bread was looked upon as sacred, and was only allowed to be eaten once during the year, on occasion of this feast, which was, among the people, the festival of their festivals.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN WORSHIPPING THE SUN, THEY WENT TO THE TEMPLE, AND SACRIFICED A LAMB.

The necessary preparations having been made, the Ynca came forth at dawn, on the day of the festival, accompanied by all his relations marching according to their age and dignity. They proceeded to the great square, which was called *Huacay-pata*. Here they waited for sunrise, all of them being barefooted, and all watching the east with great attention. As soon as the sun appeared, they all bent down, resting on their elbows (which, among these Indians, is the same as going down on the knees), with the arms apart and the hands raised. Thus they worshipped, and kissed the air (which with them is the equivalent to kissing the hand or the dress of a Prince in Spain); and they adored with much fervour and devotion, looking upon the Sun as their god and natural father.

The Curacas, not being of the blood royal, assembled in

an adjoining square, called the *Casi-pata,* where they used the same forms of adoration as the Yncas.

Presently the King rose to his feet, the rest being still prostrate, and took two great cups of gold, called *aquilla,* full of the beverage that they drink. He performed this ceremony as the first-born, in the name of his father, the Sun, and, with the cup in his right hand, invited all his relations to drink. This custom of inviting each other to drink was the usual mode by which superiors showed favour and complacency to inferiors, and by which one friend saluted another.

Having given the invitation to drink, the Ynca emptied the vase in his right hand, which was dedicated to the Sun, into a jar of gold, whence the liquor flowed down a stone conduit of very beautiful masonry from the great square to the temple of the Sun, thus being looked upon as drunk by the Deity. From the vase in his left hand the Ynca himself drank, that being his share, and then divided what remained among the other Yncas, pouring it into smaller cups of gold and silver. Gradually the principal vase, which the Ynca held, was emptied; and the partakers thus received such virtue from it as was imparted by its having been sanctified by the Sun or the Ynca, or rather by both together. Each member of the blood royal drank of this liquor. The Curacas in the other square received drinks of the beverage made by the chosen virgins, but not that which had also been sanctified by the Ynca.

This ceremony having been performed, which was but a foretaste of what would have to be drunk afterwards, all went in procession to the temple of the Sun. All took off their shoes, except the King, at two hundred paces before reaching the doors; but the King remained with his shoes on, until he came to the doors. The Ynca and his relations then entered the temple as legitimate children of the deity, and there worshipped the image of the Sun. But the

Curacas, being unworthy of so great an honour, remained outside in a large square before the temple doors.

The Ynca offered to the Sun the golden vases with which he had performed the ceremony, and the other members of his family gave their cups to the Ynca priests, who were set apart for that office; for persons who were not priests, even if they were of the royal blood, were not allowed to perform the priestly office. Having offered up the cups of the Yncas, the priests came to the doors to receive those of the Curacas, who took their places according to their seniority as vassals, and presented the gold and silver articles which they had brought from their provinces as offerings to the Sun. These offerings were in the form of sheep, lambs, lizards, toads, serpents, foxes, tigers, lions, and many sorts of birds, in short, of all the animals in the provinces, each imitated from nature in gold and silver, though the size of each article was not great.

As soon as the offerings were made, the chiefs returned to their places in procession; and presently the priests came out with many lambs, ewes, and rams of all colours, for the native sheep of that country are of different colours, like the horses in Spain. All this flock was the property of the Sun. They took a black lamb, for among the Indians this colour was preferred for the sacrifices, as more sacred. For they said that a black beast was black all over, while a white one, though its body might be white, always had a black nose, which was a defect, and caused it to be less perfect than a black beast. For this reason also, the Kings generally dressed in black, and their mourning was the natural colour of the wool, which they call grey.

This first sacrifice of a black lamb was made to prognosticate the omens of the festival. For they almost always sacrificed a lamb before undertaking any act either of peace or war, in order to see, by examining the heart and lungs, whether it was acceptable to the Sun, that is to say, whether

it would be successful or the reverse. In order to seek an omen to tell them whether a harvest would be good; for some crops they used a lamb, for others a ram, for others a sterile ewe; but they never killed a fruitful sheep even to eat, until it was past bearing.

They took the lamb or sheep, and placed it with the head towards the east. They did not tie its feet, but three or four Indians held it, and it was cut open on the left side while still alive. They then forced their hands in, and pulled out the heart with the lungs and gullet up to the mouth, and the whole had to be taken out entire, without being cut.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE OMENS IN THEIR SACRIFICES, AND THE FIRES FOR THEM.

If the lungs were palpitating, or had not ceased to live as they call it, the augury was looked upon as most fortunate. If this omen appeared, they took no note of others that might appear of an opposite character. For they said that the excellence of this lucky omen would overcome the evil of all contrary signs. They then took the entrails, blew air into them, and fastened up the mouth, or held it tight with their hands. Presently they began to watch the ways by which the air entered and distended the veins and arteries. If they were very full of air, it was looked upon as a good omen. They had other ways of seeking auguries of which I took no note, but I remember having seen these two methods practised on two occasions when I was a child. I went into a yard on one occasion, where some old unbaptised Indians were performing a sacrifice, not of the Raymi, for that festival had been abolished before I was born, but for some special purpose, in order to watch the omens.

With this object they sacrificed lambs and sheep, as on the feast of Raymi, for their special sacrifices were performed in imitation of those at the great festivals.

It was considered a very bad omen if the beast rose on its feet while they were opening its side, in spite of those who held it; or if the entrails broke and did not come out whole. It was also an evil sign if the lungs or heart were torn or bruised in being pulled out; and there were other signs which, as I have said, I neither inquired about nor took note of. I remember these because I heard the Indians, who made the sacrifice, asking each other concerning the bad or evil omens, and they did not mind me because I was but a child.

To return to the solemnities of the Raymi. If the sacrifice of the lamb did not furnish good auguries, they made another sacrifice of a sheep, and if this was also unpropitious they offered up another. But, even if the third sacrifice was unlucky, they did not desist from celebrating the festival, though they did so with inward sorrow and misgiving, believing that their father, the Sun, was enraged against them for some fault or negligence that they must have unintentionally committed against his service.

They feared that cruel wars, failure of crops, diseases in their flocks, and other misfortunes might befall them. But when the omens were propitious, their joy was very great with which they celebrated the festival, as they looked forward to future good fortune.

After the sacrifice of the lamb, they brought a great quantity of lambs and sheep for a general sacrifice, and they did not cut these open while they were alive, but beheaded them first. The blood and hearts of all these, as well as of the first lamb, were preserved and offered to the Sun, and the bodies were burnt until they were converted to ashes.

It was necessary that the fire for the sacrifice should be new, and given by the hand of the Sun, as they expressed

it. For this purpose they took a large bracelet, called *chipana* (like those they usually wear on the left thumb). This was held by the high priest. It was larger than usual, and had on it a highly polished concave plate, about the diameter of an orange. They put this towards the Sun, at an angle, so that the reflected rays might concentrate on one point, where they had placed a little cotton wool well pulled out, for they did not know how to make tinder; but the cotton was soon lighted in the natural way. With this fire, thus obtained from the hands of the Sun, they consumed the sacrifice, and roasted all the meat on that day. Portions of the fire were then conveyed to the temple of the Sun, and to the convent of virgins, where they were kept in all the year, and it was an evil omen if they were allowed to go out. If on the eve of the festival, which was the time when they made the preparations for the sacrifice, there was no sun wherewith to light the new fire; they obtained it by means of two thin cylindrical sticks, about the girth of a man's finger, and half a *vara* long, which they rubbed together. They give the name of *Vyaca* both to the sticks and to the act of obtaining fire from them, the same word serving both for a noun and a verb. The Indians use these sticks instead of flint and steel, and they travel with them, so as to have the means of making a fire at their sleeping places, when in an uninhabited region. I have often seen this when I have made a journey with the Indians, and the shepherds make use of sticks for the same purpose.

They looked upon it as a bad omen to light the fire for the festival in this way, saying that, as the Sun refused to kindle the flame with his own hand, he must be angry with them. All the meat for the feast was roasted in public, in the two squares, and it was distributed amongst all those who were present at the feast, whether Yncas, Curacas, or common people. And each received a piece of the bread called *Canca* with the meat. This was the first dish in

their grand and solemn banquet. Afterwards they received a great quantity of eatables, which were eaten without drinking; for it was the universal custom of the Indians of Peru not to drink while they were eating.

From what has been related the assertion made by some Spaniards may have arisen that the Yncas and their vassals communicated like Christians. We have described the custom of the Indians, and each reader can make out the similitude as he pleases.

After the eating was over, they brought liquor in great quantity, for this was one of the most prevalent vices among the Indians. But at the present day, through the mercy of God and the good example which has been set them in this particular by the Spaniards, no Indian can get drunk without being despised and reviled by his fellows. If the Spaniards had set a like example as regards other vices, they would have been apostolic preachers of the gospel.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOW THEY DRANK TO EACH OTHER AND IN WHAT ORDER.

The Ynca, seated in his golden chair, which was placed on a platform of the same metal, sent to the members of the tribes called Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco, desiring them to drink, in his name, with the most distinguished Indians belonging to other nations. First, they invited the captains who had shown valour in war, who, even when they were not lords of vassals, were for their bravery preferred to Curacas. But if a Curaca, besides being a lord of vassals, was also a captain in the wars, they did him honour both on the one account and on the other. Next the Ynca ordered the Curacas living in the vicinity of Cuzco, to be invited to

drink, being those whose ancestors the first Ynca Manco Ccapac had reduced to his service. These chiefs, owing to the great privilege of bearing the name of Ynca, which that Prince had granted them, were looked upon as nobles of the highest rank next to the Yncas of the blood royal, and before all the chiefs of other tribes. For those kings never thought of diminishing in the smallest degree any privilege or favour that their ancestors had granted to any of their vassals, but on the contrary confirmed and increased them.

In these drinking bouts that the Indians had with each other, it must be understood that they all held their cups touching each other, two and two, and whether large or small, they were always of the same size and shape, and of the same metal, whether gold, silver or wood. This custom was enforced that each might drink the same quantity. He who gave an invitation to drink carried the two cups in his hands, and if the invited person was of lower rank he was given the cup in the left hand, if of equal or higher rank, the cup in the right; and with more or less ceremony according to the position in life of one and the other. Then they both drank together, and, the person inviting to drink, having received back his cup, returned to his place. On these occasions the first invitation was from a superior to his inferior, in token of favour and kindness. Afterwards the inferior invited his superior, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage and duty.

In observing this custom, the Ynca first sent an invitation to his vassals, in each nation preferring the captains before those who were not warriors. The Ynca who took the invitation said to the invited person:—"The sole Ynca sends me to invite you to drink, and I come to drink with you in his name." The captain or Curaca then took the cup with much reverence, raised his eyes to the Sun, as though he would give thanks for so undeserved a favour conferred by his son, and having drunk, he returned the

cup to the Ynca without another word, only making signs of adoration with his hands and kissing the air with his lips.

And it must be understood that the Ynca did not send invitations to drink to all the Curacas (though he did so to all captains) but only to a select number, who were most worthy and who were most devoted to the public good. For this was the mark at which they all shot, as well the Ynca as the Curacas and the ministers of peace and war. The rest of the Curacas were invited to drink by the same Yncas who brought the cups, but in their own names and not in that of the Ynca, which satisfied them, because the invitation came from one who was a child of the Sun, like their king.

After the first invitation to drink, the captains and Curacas of all the nations returned the challenges in the order that they had received them, some to the Ynca himself, and the others to his relations, according as the first invitation had been received. The Ynca was approached without a word, and merely with the signs of adoration I have already described. He received them with much condescension, and took the cups they presented, but as he could not, nor was it lawful for him to drink of them all, he merely put them to his lips, drinking a little from all of them, from some more, from others less, according to the favour he wished to show to their owners, which was regulated by their rank and merit. And he ordered the attendants, who were all Yncas by privilege, to drink for him with those captains and Curacas; who having done so, returned the cups.

The Curacas held these cups in great veneration as sacred things, because the sole Ynca had touched them with his hands and lips. They never drank out of them again, nor touched them, but looked upon them as idols fit to be worshipped, in memory of their having been touched by the Ynca. Certainly nothing can show more than this how

great was the love and veneration, both internal and outward, that these Indians felt for their kings.

The invitation and the return challenge to drink having been observed, all returned to their places. Presently the dances and songs began, in different fashions, and with the several insignia, masks, and dresses used by each nation. While the singing and dancing continued they did not leave off drinking, the Yncas and Curacas inviting each other, according to their special friendships, or to the nearness of their places of residence.

The celebration of the feast of Raymi lasted for nine days, during which time there was abundance of eating and drinking, and such rejoicing as each person could show. But the sacrifices for observing omens were only made on the first day. As soon as the nine days were over the Curacas returned to their lands with the permission of the King, very joyful and contented at having celebrated the principal feast of their god the Sun. When the King was occupied in war or in visiting his dominions, he celebrated the feast in the place where he happened to be, but not with so much solemnity as when he was at Cuzco; while the Ynca governor, the High Priest, and others of the blood royal who remained behind, took care to celebrate it in the capital. On those occasions the Curacas assembled in the provinces, each one going to the feast which was held nearest to the place of his abode.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW THE KNIGHTS WERE ARMED AND HOW THEY WERE EXAMINED.

The word *Huaracu* belongs to the general language of Peru, and is equivalent to what in Spanish would indicate the arming of a knight. For this word signified the granting

of the insignia of manhood to the youths of the blood royal, and the clothing them in the habiliments of war as well as of peace. Without these insignia they were not considered eligible for the one office or the other, and as the books on knighthood would have it, they were virgins unable to bear arms. In order to receive these insignia, which we shall describe further on, the youths who were prepared to enter upon the career of arms, had to pass through a very rigorous noviciate. They were examined in all the labours and emergencies that are likely to arise in war, whether under prosperous or adverse circumstances. In order that the whole ceremony may be clearly understood, it will be well to describe every part of it in detail; for, considering that the people are so barbarous, it certainly contained many things well worthy of attention. The festival was an occasion of great rejoicing for the common people, and of much honour and majesty for the Yncas, as well the aged who had been proved in war, as the youths who were then to undergo the noviciate. For the honour or shame that the novices acquired in the trial was shared by their relations, and as the Yncas were all of one common parentage, the good or evil that befell each member was felt by the whole family, although those most nearly related were most affected.

Each year, or every second year, according to circumstances, the Ynca youths were submitted to the military ordeal. They were assembled in a house built for that purpose, which stood in the quarter called the Collcampata. I have myself seen it, and I have even beheld a portion of the ceremonies, but in those days they might more properly be described as shadows of the past, as regards their magnificence and reality. In this house there were aged Yncas, experienced in the arts of peace and war, who were the instructors of the novices, and who examined them in the things we shall presently mention and in others which have slipped from my memory. For six days the novices had to

endure a very rigorous fast, during which time they were given nothing but a few grains of raw maize and a jar of plain water, without anything else whatever, neither salt nor *uchu*, which is what in Spain is called the pepper of the Indies. This condiment flavours and enriches the poorest and worst food there is, even if it be only a dish of herbs, and for this very reason the novices were not allowed to have any of it.

The fast was not usually extended beyond three days, but for the novices it was doubled as an ordeal to prove them, whether they were men who could endure any cold or hunger that they might be exposed to in war. Another less rigorous fast was observed at the same time by the parents, brothers, and nearest relations of the novices, who besought the Sun, with much earnestness, to grant strength and endurance to their sons, that they might come forth from the ordeal with honour. He who showed himself to be weakened and distressed by the fast, or who asked for more food, was reproved and expelled from the novitiate. After the fast, having been indulged with rather more food, the novices were examined in the agility of their persons. As a test they were made to run from the hill called Huanacauri, which was looked upon as sacred, to the fortress of the city, a distance of nearly a league and a half. At the fortress some signal, such as a pennon or banner, was put up, and the first who reached it was chosen captain over all the others. The second, third, fourth, down to the tenth, received great commendation; while those who faltered in the race were covered with shame and infamy. The parents and relations of the runners put before them the honour on the one hand and the shame on the other, representing to them that it would be less disgraceful to expire than to falter in the race.

On another day the novices were divided into two equal bodies. One was ordered to remain in the fortress, and the other to go outside, and to fight one against the other, one

striving to take the fortress, and the other to defend it. After the contest had lasted the whole day, they changed rounds on the following day, those who had been defenders taking the place of assailants, so that they might display their skill and agility under various circumstances, as well in defending as in attacking strong places. In these fights, although the arms were blunted so as not to be so formidable as in real warfare, there were severe wounds given, sometimes even causing death, because the desire for victory excited them even to the point of killing each other.

CHAPTER XXV.

THEY WERE EXPECTED TO KNOW HOW TO MAKE THEIR ARMS AND THEIR SHOES.

After these exercises the novices were matched against each other, those of nearly the same age being selected to compete in jumping, throwing large or small stones, a lance, a dart, or any other weapon for hurling. They also had to shoot at a mark with bow and arrows, to see what skill they had attained in the use of those weapons. Then they were made to draw a bow to the extreme, to try the vigour and strength of their arms. The same trial was made with slings, to try their aim. They were afterwards examined in the use of all the arms that the Yncas fought with in their wars. They then had to watch by turns for ten or twelve nights, as sentinels, to try if they were men capable of resisting the desire to sleep. They were visited at uncertain hours, and he who was discovered asleep, was severely reproved, and and told that he was a child unfit to receive the military insignia of honour and command. They were also severely beaten with osier wands over the arms and legs, which the

Peruvians, in their usual dress, leave uncovered. This was done to watch what courage they show in receiving the blows. If they showed by their faces that they felt the pain, or flinched at all with their legs and arms, they were reproved and told that he who could not endure such gentle blows with rods, could never hope to withstand the blows from the weapons of an enemy. They were expected to preserve an aspect of insensibility during the flogging.

Then they were placed in rows, and a captain, being a master in the use of arms, came forward with a weapon like a post, or rather a club used with two hands, which the Indians called *macana*, or else with a spear called *chuqui;* which he wielded dexterously among the novices, sometimes close to their eyes, and at others seeming to aim at their legs, as if to break them. If unluckily any novice showed a sign of fear, either by winking his eyes or drawing back his foot, he was told that if he feared the weapon when it was not intended to hurt him, how much more would he be afraid of his enemies when he knew that they used their weapons with the design of killing him. They were expected to stand as immovable as rocks beaten by sea and wind.

Besides these exercises the novices were expected to know how to make all offensive weapons used in war, with their own hands, or at least those which did not require the blacksmith's art, such as bows and arrows, a dart thrown by means of a leather strap, a lance with a sharpened point, and a sling made of reed. They used no defensive arms except shields, which they called *huallcanca*. The novices had to learn how to make these shields, as well as their shoes, which they called *usuta*. These shoes consisted of one piece of leather or reed, like the sandals used in Spain. They did not know how to make a toe-piece, but fastened the soles to the feet with cords either of reed or wool, and in short these *usutas* were like the open shoes worn by the Monks of the Order of St. Francis.

The cords for fastening on the sandals were made of wool twisted on a little spindle. The wool for twisting is held in one hand and the spindle in the other, and half a cubit of this cord is enough for the sandal of one foot. The cord is the thickness of a little finger, for the thicker it is the less it chafes the foot. With reference to this method of spinning a cord, and the use the cord was put to, a historian of the Indians, speaking of the Yncas, says that they know how to spin, without mentioning how or for what purpose. This false account may be passed over, for he gave many more as well to the prejudice of the Indians as the Spaniards, but without any blame to himself. For he wrote from a distance, and from various different narratives, composed with reference to the interests of those who sent them. As a rule there has not been met with among all the heathen nations, a people more manly than the Yncas, nor one which despised the indulgence of effeminate habits more heartily. And assuredly these Yncas were magnanimous, and aspired after lofty aims; for they valued themselves as children of the Sun, and this claim led them to seek its realisation in heroic actions.

They call this method of spinning wool *milluy*.* The word merely signifies the twisting of wool with a small stick to make cord for sandals, or for fastening burdens. And as this occupation was for men, the word was not used by women in their language. The art of spinning by women was called *buhca*,† a word meaning to spin with a spindle for weaving. It also signifies the spindle itself. As this was a woman's occupation, the men did not use the word *buhca*. This mode of speaking is very common in the language, as we shall remark further on, with regard to other verbs and nouns, which the curious will like to hear about. Thus it is not to be wondered at that the Spaniards who

* *Millhua* is wool, and *millhuayni* I spin or weave wool on a spindle.

† Apparently a misprint for *puchca* a spindle, and *puchcani* I spin.

write histories of Peru in Spain, as well as those who wrote in Peru, not knowing these distinctions, and paying no attention to them, should interpret words according to the uses of their own language, and thus bear false witness respecting the Yncas without intending to do so.

To return to our subject, we repeat that the novices were expected to know how to make arms and shoes, so that during emergencies in time of war, they might not be at a loss. All this was exacted from them, that when necessity, caused by whatever circumstance, required it, they might be found prepared, and able to meet the emergency by their own resources.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WHEN THE PRINCE BECAME A NOVICE HE WAS TREATED WITH MORE SEVERITY THAN THE OTHERS.

Every day one of the captains or managers of the ceremonies delivered an harangue, in which the ancestry of the Yncas, the deeds of former kings, in peace and war, and those of other heroes of the blood royal, were called to mind. In these discourses the novices were urged to practise all the moral philosophy to which these Indians had attained; they were told of the bravery and stout-heartedness they ought to display in the wars for enlarging the bounds of the empire, of the patience and long-suffering in work, whereby they should prove their ardour and generosity; of the clemency, piety and meekness that was due to the poor and the subdued enemy, of the right and justice they should administer by doing no injury to any one, and above all of the liberality and magnificence that must be seen in all of them, as children of the Sun, who had descended from

heaven. The novices were made to sleep on the ground, to eat little and bad food, to go barefoot, and to practise all other austerities that might tend to make them good soldiers.

The eldest son of the Ynca, the heir to the empire, also entered upon this ordeal when he had arrived at an age to perform the exercises, and it must be understood that he was examined with the same severity as the others. No distinction whatever was made in his case, by reason of his exalted rank, except that the pennon intended for the swiftest in the race was given to the Prince as being his right as heir to the kingdom. But in all the other exercises, in fasting, military discipline, skill in making arms and shoes for himself, sleeping on the ground, faring ill, and going barefoot, he was in no way privileged. If there was any difference, the Prince was treated with even more rigour than the others, for it was said that he who was to be king should excel his fellows as well in the height and dignity of his rank as in all other things. It was thought that, in prosperity and in adversity the royal person should be above all others, whether in the gifts of his mind or in matters relating to bodily skill, especially in warlike exercises. They said that the Prince deserved to reign more on account of these accomplishments than because he was the firstborn of his father. They also held that it was very necessary for kings and princes to endure the toils of war that they might know how to value and reward those who served under them. During the whole time that the noviciate lasted, which was from one new moon to the next, the prince was dressed in the vilest and most wretched clothes that can be imagined, and appeared in public in these rags on all necessary occasions. They affirmed that he was clothed in rags in order that when he became a powerful king he might not despise the poor, but remember that he had once been one of them, and be their friend, so as to merit the title of *Hacchacuyac*, which they gave to their kings. The meaning

of the word is "lover and benefactor of the poor." After the ordeal the princes were considered worthy of the insignia of royalty, and held to be true Yncas, children of the Sun. Then the mothers and sisters of the youths came and put shoes of reeds on their feet, in token of their having passed through the sharp ordeal of the military exercises.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE YNCA INVESTED THE YOUTHS WITH THE PRINCIPAL INSIGNIA, AND ONE OF THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE REST.

The King, accompanied by the most venerable princes of the blood royal, then caused the novices to be brought before him, and addressed them in a short discourse, telling them that they must not be satisfied to receive the insignia of knights of the blood royal merely as a mark of honour and distinction, but that they must consider them as an incitement to practise the virtues of their ancestors, especially in doing justice to all, and in showing mercy to the poor and feeble; thus proving themselves to be true children of the Sun. He added that, they should strive to resemble his splendour, as their father, in the benefits conferred upon vassals, for that they had been sent from heaven to earth to do good. After the discourse was ended, the novices came before the Ynca, and kneeling down, received from his hands the first and chief sign of knighthood, which was the boring of the ears, which was a royal and most illustrious distinction. The Ynca himself bored their ears, in the place where the ornaments were usually worn, with thick golden pins which were left in the places, that the holes might heal and also be enlarged as they were to an incredible size.

The novice kissed the hand of the Ynca, in token (as they

said) that the hand that had done so gracious an act, deserved to be kissed. Then the novice passed on, and stood before another Ynca, brother or uncle of the King, who was second in authority to the sovereign. He removed the shoes of raw matting, from the feet of the novice, in token that the rigorous ordeal was passed, and put on others of gay coloured cloth, such as were worn by the King and the other Yncas. This ceremony was equivalent to that of giving spurs in Spain, when they invest knights with the habit of the military orders. After he had received the shoes, the Ynca kissed him on the right shoulder, saying: "The child of the Sun who has given such proofs of his descent, deserves to be venerated." For the verb "to kiss," signifies also "to worship," and "to venerate." After this ceremony the novice entered a court where other venerable Yncas invested him with the breeches, as tokens of manhood, which he had previously been forbidden to wear. These breeches consisted of a cloth with three strings attached to it. Two of them were sewn to a cord the size of a finger, which encircled the waist, the cloth hung in front, and the third cord passed between the legs and was fastened behind. Thus, even when stripped of all other clothes, the body remained decently and honestly covered.

The chief token of knighthood was the boring of the ears, for that was a royal privilege; the second was the putting on of the breeches, which was the sign of manhood. The shoes were more as a gift, as a reward of hard work, and were not essential marks of rank and honour. This word *huaracu*, which in itself expresses and contains all that we have described touching this solemn festival, is derived from the word *huara*, signifying breeches. For the youth who was worthy to put them on had also earned all other insignia, honours and dignities that could be attained in peace or war. Besides the above insignia they placed on the heads of the novices garlands of two kinds of flowers. One kind

was called *cantut*, which are most beautiful both in form and colour, some yellow, some purple, and others red. The other kind of flower, called *chihuayhua*, is yellow, and similar in form to the pinks of Spain. These two flowers were not allowed to be worn by the common people, or even by the great lords, but only by those of the blood royal. They also placed in the garlands of the young knights a leaf of the plant they call *Uiñay Huayna*, which is as much as to say "always young." This leaf is green and resembles the leaf of a lily. It preserves its colour for a long time, and does not lose it even when dried. For this reason the name was given to it.

The Prince, who was heir, received the same flowers and leaf, and all the other insignia. For there was no difference made between him and the others, except that he wore a fringe across his forehead, extending from one temple to the other, and about four fingers in width. This fringe was of wool, for these Indians had no silk, and of a yellow colour. The yellow fringe was only for the Prince, and no other was allowed to wear it, not even his brother; nor could the Prince himself put it on until he had passed the ordeal.

As a final mark of royal honour they gave the prince a battle-axe, called *champi*, with a handle more than a cubit in length. The metal part had a blade on one side, and a sharp point on the other; and it only wanted another point at the end to be exactly like a partizan. It was put into the hand of the prince, with the word *Aucca-cunapac*. This is the dative plural of a noun, and is as much as to say—"this is for tyrants, traitors, for the cruel, the perfidious, and the false." All this and much more is meant by the word *aucca*. By this one word, they intended to say, in accordance with the genius of their language, that he was given that weapon as a sign and token that it was his duty to punish all such persons. The other devices, such as beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers, signified the clemency,

piety, and gentleness that he should show to the good and loyal. For they said that, as his father the Sun created the flowers of the field for the pleasure and enjoyment of men, so the prince should cherish those virtues in his mind and heart, and do good to all, that he might worthily be called the lover and benefactor of the poor, and that his name might live for ever in the world.

As soon as the masters of the festival had delivered these exhortations in presence of the father, the uncles and brothers of the prince, and all those of the blood royal, went on their knees before him, and did homage to him as the first-born of their Ynca. This ceremony was equivalent to acknowledging him as heir to the empire, and then they invested him with the yellow fringe. In this way the Yncas concluded their solemn festival for arming the novices as knights.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE DEVICES WORN BY THE KINGS, BY THE OTHER YNCAS, AND BY THE MASTERS OF THE NOVICES.

The king wore a fringe, similar to that of the prince except that it was red. Besides the red fringe, the sovereign wore another device peculiar to himself, consisting of two wing feathers of a bird called *coraquenque*. The word has no meaning in the general language of Peru; but it probably had a special signification in the peculiar court dialect of the Yncas, which is now lost. The feathers are white with a black patch, and of the size of those of a sparrow-hawk. They were taken one from one wing and the other from the other, so as to match. I myself saw them worn by the Ynca Sayri Tupac. The birds, whence these feathers are taken,

inhabit the wild region of Vilcañota, thirty-two leagues from the city of Cuzco, in a small lake at the foot of those inaccessible snowy mountains. Those who have seen them declare that more than a couple, male and female, are never seen at a time. It is not known whence they come, nor where they breed; nor have any besides these been ever seen in any other part of Peru, according to the Indians, although there are many other snowy mountains and deserts, and large and small lakes, besides those of Vilcañota. This account seems like that of the Phœnix bird, though I know not who ever beheld the latter, and these certainly have been seen.

The Ynca wore their feathers because no others, save these two, had ever been seen or heard of in the world; and all other persons, even the prince who was heir to the throne, were forbidden to use them on any account. For it was said that these birds, being alone, resembled the first Yncas who were no more than two, man and wife, come down from heaven. And to preserve the memory of their first parents they wore, as a principal device, the feathers of these birds, which were looked upon as sacred. I believe myself that there are plenty of other birds of this kind, for such singularity is not possible. The story of the Phœnix is enough without adding this Indian fable, and doubtless the people said what they did in order to make a fancied analogy between the birds and their first kings. Suffice it that the feathers were as highly valued as has been related. They tell me that now, in these days, many Indians wear the feathers, saying that they are descended from the blood royal of the Yncas; while others laugh at them, saying that the family was nearly extinct. The truth is that foreign customs have caused the old distinctions of the head-dresses to become confused, by which families were known, and this has emboldened some to adopt one royal device, and some another, until now all pretend to be Yncas and Pallas.

The Ynca wore the feathers above the red fringe. The tips pointed upwards, somewhat apart one from the other, while they touched below. To obtain the feathers, the birds were hunted with as much gentleness as possible, and as soon as the feathers were obtained they were released. On the accession of each Ynca a new pair of feathers was obtained; for the heir never used the same insignia as his father, but other similar ones. For the deceased king's body, after it was embalmed, was adorned with the same imperial insignia that he had worn in life. Such is the majesty of the bird *corequenque*, and the veneration and esteem in which its feathers were held by the Kings Yncas. This account is of little or no importance or interest to people in Spain, yet it seemed good to insert it, because it appertained to the customs of those departed kings.

To return to our novices. After they had been invested with the insignia, they were conducted to the principal square of the city, where the rejoicings were generally continued for many days, with songs and dancing. The same festivities went on in the houses of the parents and nearest relations of the young knights, to show their joy. The masters at the examinations in bodily exercises, and in the knowledge of making arms and shoes, had been the parents of the young aspirants who, having passed the tender age of childhood, were taught to be industrious, and exercised in all things necessary to prove them. They were deprived of pleasures, and inured to labour and military exercises, that, when they became men, they might do their duty in peace and war.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHUQUIMANCU, THE LORD OF FOUR VALLEYS, SUBMITS.

To return to the life and conquests of the Ynca Pachacutec. As soon as his brother, the general Ccapac Yupanqui, had reduced the great Curaca Chincha to submission, he sent a request to his brother the king that he might be supplied with another army to conquer the valleys in his front. This reinforcement was accordingly despatched with officers, and large supplies of munitions and food in proportion to the grandeur of the contemplated enterprise. The new force was accompanied by the Prince Ynca Yupanqui, who was very fond of warlike exercises. The general set out from Chincha, and came to the beautiful valley of Runahuanac. The word means "A warning to the people." It is so called because a river passes through the valley, which is very deep and rapid, so that many people had been drowned in it. Hence its ominous name. Men had been drowned in the river because they would not take the trouble to go round to a bridge about a league above the ford. They thought, because they had crossed easily in summer, they could do the same in winter, and so perished miserably. The name of the river is composed of the noun *runa*, which means "a man," and the verb *huanani* "to warn." The final *c* is the present participle, and signifies "he who gives a warning." Both words together mean, "One who gives a warning to the people." The Spanish historians call this valley and its river *Lunaguana*, corrupting the word by altering three letters. One author says that it is derived from the word *guano*, which means dung; because the people of that valley make much use of manure in cultivating their fields. But the word *guano* ought to be written *huanu*, for, as we observed at the beginning of this work, there is no

letter *g* in this general language of Peru. It means dung, but the verb *huanani* signifies "I warn." From this example, and from others that I shall give, it may be seen how ignorant the Spaniards are of this language, and even my countrymen, the Mestizos, are now beginning to follow the Spaniards in bad pronunciation and incorrect spelling. For nearly all the letters they write to me, in their language and my own, are spelt in the same way as the Spaniards corruptly write our words. I have reprimanded them for these faults, but without doing any good, owing to the usual custom of corrupting languages through intercourse between different nations.

In those days the valley of Runahuanac was very populous, and another further to the north, called Huarcu, contained more than thirty thousand inhabitants. In like manner the valley of Chincha, and others to the north and south, were thickly peopled. At present the most populous does not contain two thousand, and some are so depopulated that they are uninhabited except by Spaniards.

In describing the conquest of the Yuncas, it must be understood that the valley of Runahuanac, and three others to the northward called Huarca, Mala, and Chilca, were all under one chief called Chuquimancu, who was treated as a king, and exacted homage from all the neighbouring tribes, though they were not his vassals. When he heard that the Yncas were approaching his kingdom, for so we will call it out of complacency to the presumption of this Curaca, he assembled all the men he could get together, and advanced to defend the passage of the river. There were some encounters, in which many were killed on both sides; but at last the Yncas, having provided a number of boats both large and small, effected the passage. The Yuncas did not make as good a defence as they might have done, for the king Chuquimancu chose rather to offer battle in the valley of Huarcu, because it seemed to him to be a stronger posi-

tion, being ignorant of military art. Thus it was that such defence as might have been attempted was not made at Runahuanac, in which a great mistake was committed, as we shall see further on. The Yncas established their troops in quarters, and in less than a month they gained the whole of that beautiful valley, through the bad management of Chuquimancu.

The Ynca left a garrison at Runahuanac, to take charge of supplies and to protect his rear. He then advanced to Huarcu where a very fierce war was waged. For Chuquimancu, having assembled all his forces in that valley, had an army of twenty thousand men, with which, that his reputation might not suffer, he practised all the stratagems and wiles he could think of against his enemies. On the other hand, the Yncas strove to conquer without bloodshed. In this way the war continued for more than eight months, and there were several bloody battles. The Yuncas were so obstinate in their resistance, that the troops of the Ynca were relieved three, and some say even four, times.

The Yncas gave the name of Cuzco to their camp, and the different divisions were called after the principal words of the capital, in order that the enemy might understand that the invaders intended to remain until they had conquered the country, and that they were as much at their ease as if they were in their own city. Owing to the Yncas having given this name to their camp, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in his thirty-seventh chapter,* says that they founded another city like Cuzco when they saw the obstinacy of the enemy, and that the war lasted more than four years. He says this on the authority of the Yuncas themselves, according to his own statement, who gave him an exaggerated account in order to exalt their own deeds that they performed in defending their country. But in reality the four years were

* This is a mistake. It should be the seventy-third chapter. See my translation, p. 257.

the four armies that the Yncas sent to relieve each other, and the city was merely the name they gave to the place where their camp was pitched. There was nothing more, either in the one statement or the other, than what has been here related.

The Yuncas, at the end of this protracted campaign, began to feel very severe pangs of hunger, which effectually tames and softens the bravest and most enduring people. Besides the famine, there were days when the inhabitants of Runahuanac importuned their king, Chuquimancu, to submit to the Yncas. They were unable longer to resist, and they feared that, as a punishment for their obstinacy, the Yncas would take away their houses and estates, and give them to their old enemies and neighbours, the natives of Chincha. When they found that their king would not listen to their entreaties, they fled from him and brought news to the Ynca of the condition of his enemies, and how they were suffering from hunger.

Chuquimancu, knowing all this, and fearing that the rest of his troops might desert also, was at last inclined to submit, having shown that he had the spirit of a brave captain. So, after consulting with his officers, he and they agreed to go to the Ynca without sending an embassy, and thus be their own ambassadors. With this determination they set out for the camp of the Yncas and went on their knees before them, praying for mercy and pardon for their crimes, and declaring that they desired to be vassals of the Ynca, seeing that his father the Sun had decreed that he should be lord of the whole world.

The Yncas, uncle and nephew, received them kindly, telling them that they were pardoned, and with presents of clothes and other things, sending them well satisfied to their homes.

The natives of these four provinces, like those of Chincha, also boast that the Yncas, with all their power, could not

subdue them in less than four years, and that they were obliged to build a city. They also assert that they were conquered more through gifts and promises than by force, and by hunger rather than by arms. They relate many other things concerning their valorous deeds, which, as they do not concern this history, we shall omit.

The Yncas considered the subjugation of the king Chuquimancu to be a very important success. They valued their conquest so highly that, in perpetual memory of the deeds both of their own soldiers and of the Yuncas, they ordered a fortress, small in extent, but grand and marvellous in construction, to be erected in the valley called Huarcu. This work deserved to be left intact, as well on account of its grandeur as for its situation, its base being washed by the sea, and it would have lasted for many ages. When I passed it in the year 1560 it yet showed what it once had been, for the deeper regret of those who gazed upon it.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE VALLEYS OF PACHACAMAC AND RIMAC AND OF THEIR IDOLS.

The Yncas, as soon as they had subdued the king Chuquimancu, and given orders respecting the government, laws, and customs that were to be observed in his dominions, marched onwards to conquer the valleys of Pachacamac, Rimac, Chancay, and Huaman. The latter is called by the Spaniards La Barranca. All these valleys were held by a powerful lord named Cuismancu, who also presumed to call himself king. At least among the Indians there is no word for king, the equivalent being Hatun Âpu, which

is as much as to say, "Great Lord." In order to avoid repetition, we will relate in this place all that it is necessary to say respecting these valleys of Pachacamac and Rimac. The latter is called by the Spaniards, who have corrupted the word, Lima.

It must be understood that—as we have stated before, and shall repeat again, and as all historians have declared—the Yncas kings of Peru, with the light of nature which God had bestowed on them, had attained to a conception of the Maker of all things, whom they called Pachacamac, the word signifying the maker and sustainer of the universe. This doctrine first originated with the Yncas, but it spread into all the kingdoms of their empire either before or after they were conquered.

They said that Pachacamac was invisible, and that consequently they neither built temples nor offered sacrifices to him, as to the sun, but adored him inwardly with the greatest veneration, in accordance with the outward demonstrations they made with heads, eyes, arms, and body, when they used his name. This doctrine had spread by common fame far and wide, and all the nations of the empire had embraced it; some before and others after they were subjugated. Those who more particularly had adopted this belief before they were conquered by the Yncas, were the ancestors of king Cuismancu, who built a temple to Pachacamac, and gave the same name to the valley where it stood. This valley was, in those times, one of the principal districts along that coast. The Yuncas placed their idols in this temple, which were figures of fishes, and among them there was the image of a fox.

This temple of Pachacamac was very grand, both as regards the edifice itself and the services that were performed in it. It was the only temple to the Supreme Being throughout the whole of Peru. Here the Yuncas offered up many sacrifices of animals and other things, occasionally

immolating a human victim during their principal festivals, as was the practice in many other provinces before they were conquered by the Yncas. We will say no more here touching Pachacamac, because we shall add all that remains to be told on the subject in its proper place.

The valley of Rimac is four leagues to the north of Pachacamac. The word *Rimac* is the present participle, and signifies "He who speaks." The valley was so called from an idol there, in the shape of a man, which spoke and gave answers to questions, like the oracle of the Delphic Apollo and many others mentioned in the histories of the ancient heathens. So they called it "He who speaks" because it talked, and the valley was given the same name.

The Yuncas held this idol in great veneration, as did also the Yncas, after they had acquired that beautiful valley, where the Spaniards founded the city they called "Of the Kings," from its having been commenced on the day of the Epiphany. Thus Rimac, or Lima, or the City of the Kings, all mean one and the same thing. The city has for its arms three crowns and a star.

The idol was kept in a rich temple, though not equal to the one at Pachacamac, to which the lords of Peru sent envoys to consult touching affairs of importance. The Spanish historians confound the temple of Rimac with that of Pachacamac, saying that Pachacamac was the idol that spoke, without mentioning Rimac. This blunder, and many other similar ones that are to be found in their histories, arise from their ignorance of the language, and from their want of care to obtain accurate information. The mistake may have arisen from the two valleys being close to each other, and both under the same lord. This will suffice for a notice of these valleys, and we will now return to the narrative of their conquest.

Before the general Ccapac Yupanqui reached the valley of Pachacamac with his army, he sent to the King Curis-

mancu, according to the custom, desiring that he should submit to the Ynca Pachacutec, accept him as his sovereign, obey his laws and customs, and worship the sun as principal god, casting out other idols, and warning him that, if he refused, he must prepare for war, for that the Ynca must be obeyed, and that his submission must be secured either by fair means or foul.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THEY DEMAND SUBMISSION FROM CUISMANCU.

The great lord Cuismancu was prepared for war. He had witnessed the battles that had been fought in his vicinity, and therefore fearing that the Yncas would invade his dominions, he prepared to defend them. Surrounded by his captains and soldiers, he then received the messengers of the Ynca, and replied that his people had no need of another lord, and that he sufficed for his own lands and vassals; that the laws and customs he observed were those which had been received from his ancestors; that they suited him and his people, and that they had no need of any others. He also declared that his people had no wish to put away their gods, for these gods, he said, were very powerful. Among them was Pachacamac, whom they believed to be the creator and preserver of the universe, and therefore necessarily a greater god than the sun. They had, he continued, built a temple to Pachacamac, where they offered up the best of everything they had, even sacrificing men, women, and children; and such was the veneration in which they held him, that they used not even to look upon his image, but the King and the priests entered the temple to worship, walking backwards, and went out so as to avoid

raising their eyes. They also worshipped Rimac, a god that spoke and gave replies to those who sought him. Their other objects of worship were the fox, which they respected for his cunning and sagacity, and the ocean, because it supplied them with fish. Cuismancu concluded by saying that these gods were sufficient for them, and that they needed no others: the sun less than any, as they needed no more heat than they already experienced. So he besought the Ynca to leave him and his people free, seeing that they did not desire a new government.

The Yncas rejoiced much to find that the Yuncas held Pachacamac in such veneration, a deity which they also worshipped as the Supreme Being. They, therefore, resolved not to make war, but to subdue the Yuncas by reasoning and kindness, leaving force as a last resort, when all other means proved of no avail.

With this determination the Yncas marched to the valley of Pachacamac; and the chief Cuismancu advanced to defend his territory with a large force. The Ynca general sent to him to say that it would be well not to fight until they had conversed more fully on the subject of their gods, for that he must understand that, besides adoring the sun, the Yncas also worshipped the Pachacamac. They did not build temples in honour of or offer up sacrifices to him, because they had never seen him, and could not imagine what he was like. But they held him in the highest veneration in the depths of their hearts, insomuch that they only mentioned his name with the greatest feeling of adoration and humility. Thus, as they all worshipped the same god, it was reasonable that they should not fight, but become friends and brothers. The Ynca general also declared that hitherto the Kings Yncas had adored Pachacamac as the creator and sustainer of the universe, but that henceforth they would also look upon the Rimac, whom the Yuncas worshipped, as a sacred oracle; and he proposed,

by way of a brotherly exchange, that they should also take the sun as a god, for that, alike on account of his beauty and the benefits he conferred, he merited adoration more than a fox or any other animal on sea or land. He also proposed that, to preserve peace and friendship, the Yuncas should obey his brother and lord the Ynca, who was a child of the sun, and was looked up to as a god upon earth. He told the Yuncas also that the Ynca was beloved by many nations for his justice, piety, and clemency, and for his beneficent laws and government, and that many of these nations, on hearing of his virtues, had voluntarily desired to be brought under his rule. It was not reasonable that, when the Yncas came to search for their country with the sole object of doing them good, that they should repudiate him. The Ynca general then charged them to consider all these things calmly, and to take the course which reason must point out, rather than by provoking force, to lose the grace of the Ynca, whose power none could resist.

The King Cuismancu and his officers listened to the Ynca messengers, and, after considering the matter for many days, finally concluded a peace on the following conditions:—

The Yuncas agreed to worship the sun like the Yncas, and to build a separate temple similar to that of Pachacamac, where they would sacrifice and offer gifts to him, but that no human sacrifices should be made, because to kill a man was contrary to the laws of nature, and the custom was to be entirely abolished. It was agreed that the idols should be removed from the temple of Pachacamac, because he being the maker and sustainer of the universe, it was not decent that other idols of less power should be placed in his temple. Pachacamac was henceforth to be worshipped in the heart, and no statue to him was to be set up; because, as no one had ever seen him, it was impossible to know his figure, or to make an image of him, like that of the sun. It was also arranged, for the greater

honour and glory of the valley of Pachacamac, that a house of chosen virgins of the sun should be established: for the two things that the people in the provinces most desired to possess were a temple of the sun and a convent of virgins; for by possessing these they resembled Cuzco. The King Cuismancu was to remain in the enjoyment of his lordship, like all the other Curacas, acknowledging the Ynca as his sovereign, and obeying his laws and customs. The Yncas agreed to hold in high veneration the oracle Rimac, and to order it to be respected throughout the empire.

Peace was established on these conditions between the General Ccapac Yupanqui and the King Cuismancu, who was informed respecting the laws and customs which the Ynca desired that he should observe.

He accepted them with alacrity, because they seemed just; and he also readily agreed to the rules respecting tribute to the sun and the Ynca. These arrangements having been made, and the proper officers and garrisons having been placed in the new territory, the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui returned to Cuzco with the prince his nephew, to report to the Ynca his brother all the results of the two campaigns against the Yuncas, and to bring the King Cuismancu with him, that the Ynca might know him, and do him honour as a friendly ally, and not as one who had been conquered. Cuismancu rejoiced at the proposal to go and kiss the hand of the Ynca, and see his court and that famous city of Cuzco.

The Ynca Pachacutec, who, at the commencement of these campaigns, had remained in the province of Rucana, had, when he received tidings of the successes of his brother, returned to his capital, and now went forth to meet both brother and son with the same demonstrations of joy and triumph as had been shown on their previous return, or greater, if greater were possible. He received Cuismancu with much kindness, and ordered that he should take his

place in the procession among the Yncas of the blood royal, because with them he worshipped the Pachacamac, at which favour Cuismancu was as proud himself as he was envied by all the other Curacas.

After the triumph, the Ynca conferred many favours on Cuismancu, and sent him back to his own country loaded with honours, as well as all those who came with him. They returned to their homes very well satisfied, and declared that the Ynca was the true child of the sun, worthy of adoration and service throughout the world. It is worthy of note that the Devil, as soon as he saw that the Yncas had subjugated the valley of Pachacamac, and that the temple was cleared of the numerous idols that it formerly contained, sought to make himself the special lord of it, in the character of the unknown god whom the Indians venerated so highly, so as to obtain worship in various ways, and to sell his lies at a higher price in some places than in others. With this object he began to speak from the corners of the temple to the priests of the highest position and character, saying that he wished to reply to their questions and inquiries, not when all were assembled, but to the most respected alone, because it was beneath his dignity to speak to men of low degree. He added that he could only condescend to converse with kings and great lords, but that he would order the idol Rimac, who was his slave, to speak to the common people, and to answer all their inquiries. From that time, it was the rule to consult the oracle on matters of state in the temple of Pachacamac, and for the people to resort to that of Rimac. The latter idol thus had his name of "Speaker" confirmed, for as he was obliged to answer all, he had to talk a great deal. The Father Blas Valera also touches upon this subject, though briefly.

It appeared good to the Ynca Pachacutec to desist for some years from the conquest of new provinces, and to allow his own dominions a period of rest, for the reliefs to the

army in the field had somewhat strained their resources. He employed himself in the administration of his empire, and in attending to the erection of edifices, the framing of laws and ordinances, and the regulation of rites and ceremonies. Thus his name of Pachacutec was well suited to him; and his fame was immortalised as a great king for administering the government, a great priest of their vain religion, and a mighty captain, who acquired more provinces than any of his ancestors. He especially enriched the temple of the Sun. He ordered the walls to be coated with sheets of gold, not only those of the temple itself, but also those of other buildings, and of a cloister which still remains, and is richer now in true wealth and spiritual goods than it then was in gold and precious stones: for on the identical spot where was once the figure of the Sun is now deposited the most holy sacrament, and the cloister serves as a walk for the processions. The eternal Majesty be praised for all His mercies: it is the convent of San Domingo.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THEY GO TO CONQUER THE KING CHIMU, AND WAGE A CRUEL WAR.

The Ynca Pachacutec passed the next six years in these employments. At the end of that time, seeing that his provinces were rested and prosperous, he ordered an army of thirty thousand men of war to be assembled for the conquest of the coast valleys as far as the boundaries of Caxamanca, which were the limits of his empire on the road of the Sierra.

The army having assembled, six of the most experienced

Yncas were nominated as masters of the camp and councillors of the young prince Ynca Yupanqui, who was to be general in this campaign. Under the tuition of so good a master and so great a captain as his uncle Ccapac Yupanqui, the prince had become sufficiently experienced to be capable of commanding any expedition whatever. The Ynca ordered his brother, the general, whom he called his right arm, to remain with him, and rest from his labours. In recognition of the general's services, the Ynca nominated him his lieutenant, and the second person in the realm in peace or war, with absolute power and command over the whole empire.

The prince Ynca Yupanqui marched with one-third of his force, by the Sierra road, as far as the province of Yauyu, which borders on that of the City of the Kings, and there he waited until the rest of the army should join him. He then advanced to Rimac, where was the speaking oracle. To this prince, Ynca Yupanqui, the Indians give the honour and fame of having been the first of his family that set eyes upon the South Sea, and the one who subjugated the largest number of provinces on the coast, as may be seen in the account of his life. The Curaca of the Pachacamac valley called Cuismancu, and he of Runahuanac, whose name was Chuquimancu, came out to meet the prince with their men of war, who were to serve under him in the campaign. The Prince was pleased at their zeal, and granted them many favours. From the valley of Rimac he went to visit the temple of Pachacamac, and entered it without outward prayers or sacrifices, but only with the signs of veneration observed by the Yncas in their mental worship. Afterwards he visited the temple of the Sun, where he made sacrifices, and presented many offerings of gold and silver. He also visited the idol Rimac to please the Yuncas; and with a view to complying with the terms of the treaty, he ordered this idol to be consulted as to the success of the campaign, and

presents to be given to its priests. The reply was that the undertaking would prosper. The Prince then advanced to a valley called by the Indians Huanan, and by the Spaniards "la Barranca." Thence he despatched the customary offers of peace or war to a great Lord, named Chimu, who was Chief of all the valleys from beyond la Barranca to the city now called Truxillo. The principal valleys within these limits are the five following:—Parmunca, Huallmi, Santa, Huanapu, and Chimu, where now stands the city of Truxillo. All five are most beautiful valleys and thickly inhabited, and the principal lord over them was the powerful Chimu, so called from the name of the province where he held his court. He was treated as a king, and was feared by all the tribes who dwelt on the confines of his dominions, that is to say on the east, north and south, for to the westward the ocean was his boundary.

The great and powerful Chimu having heard the demands of the Ynca, replied that he was prepared to die, with his weapons in his hands, for the defence of his home, his laws and customs; that he wanted no new gods, and that the Ynca must be satisfied with that answer, for that he would receive no other. Having heard the reply of Chimu, the Prince Ynca Yupanqui marched to the valley of Parmunca, where the enemy awaited him. Chimu sent forward a large company of skirmishers to try the Ynca troops, and they fought for a long time to defend the entrance to the valley. But they failed in the attempt, and even lost the ground where they had encamped, though with the loss of many killed and wounded on both sides. The Prince, seeing the resistance made by the Yuncas, and to prevent them from taking courage at the smallness of his force, sent messengers to the Ynca, his father, reporting what had taken place, and requesting that twenty thousand warriors might be despatched, not as reliefs to the army in the field, as in former campaigns, but to shorten the war by the use of overpowering

numbers. For the Prince did not intend to spend so much time in subjugating the enemy, as had been done in former wars, and the less so as his present antagonist showed so much pride.

After he had despatched his messengers the Prince continued the war with great vigour, and the two Curacas of Runahuanac and Pachacamac displayed great animosity against the powerful Chimu, because, in times past, before the appearance of the Yncas, he had waged a cruel war against them, making slaves of his prisoners, and forcing them to be his vassals. Now, with the aid of the Ynca, they desired to avenge these insults, and this was felt by the great Chimu more than anything else, inducing him to make as desperate a defence as possible.

The war was very bloody among the Yuncas, owing to their ancient enmity, and they served the Yncas with more zeal than any other nation, so that in a few days they conquered the whole valley of Parmunca, and drove the inhabitants into that of Huallmi. Here again there were encounters, nor were the soldiers of the Chimu able to hold their ground, and they fell back into a very beautiful valley called Santa, which was then the finest on the coast, though now almost a desert because its inhabitants have been destroyed, like those of all the other valleys.

The people of Santa were even more warlike than those of Huallmi and Parmunca. They came out to defend their land, and fought gallantly whenever an opportunity offered. They performed such brave deeds that they gained honour and fame even from their enemies, and increased the hopes of their lord, the great Chimu. This chief was buoyed up by confidence in the valour shown by his people, as well as by certain ideas of his own, which he proclaimed, saying that the Prince, being a delicate and pleasure-loving man, would soon tire of the hardships of war and return to the delights of his court; that his warriors, overcome by a desire to see their homes and wives and children, would either depart, or

be consumed by the heat of the climate. These vain hopes induced the proud Chimu to adhere obstinately to his resolution of continuing the war, without accepting or listening to the proposals sent him by the Ynca. In order to show his determination he summoned men from all the other valleys in his dominions, and as they arrived he persisted in the war with more and more fury. Many were killed and wounded on both sides, and the war was more desperate than any in which the Yncas had hitherto been engaged. Nevertheless the captains and chief men of Chimu, viewing the state of affairs more calmly than their lord, desired that he should accept the offers of peace and friendship sent him by the Ynca, seeing that sooner or later resistance would be found no longer possible. Yet, in obedience to the will of their lord, they suffered patiently the hardships of war until they beheld their wives and children taken away as slaves, and refrained from saying what they felt in the matter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE OBSTINACY, MISFORTUNES, AND FINAL SUBMISSION OF THE GREAT CHIMU.

While this fierce and cruel war was raging the twenty thousand soldiers whom the Prince had asked for as a reforcement, arrived and checked the pride and confidence of Chimu, changing them into sadness and melancholy at the destruction of his vain hopes. For while on the one hand he saw the army of the Yncas doubled when he expected it to diminish, on the other he beheld the discouragement of his own men on seeing the arrival of another hostile army. They maintained the war more from obedience to the persistency of their lord, than from any hope that they could

repel the invasion of the reinforced army of the Ynca. The principal relations of the chief went to Chimu, and besought him not to continue obstinate until they were all utterly destroyed. They pointed out that it was now reasonable to accept the offers of the Ynca, if it would prevent his ancient enemies from further enriching themselves with the spoils that they captured every day, taking away the wives and children of his people into slavery. It was necessary, they urged, to remedy all this before worse came of it, and before the Prince, offended at the hardness and rebellious obstinacy of the chief, had closed the doors of clemency and gentleness, and opened those of fire and blood.

The brave Chimu, after this address from his relations, which seemed to him to be more like menace and reprehension than good counsel, felt that he had lost all and that he had nowhere to turn to for aid, nor any one from whom to seek assistance. The people were offended at his pride, and felt absolved from helping him; his soldiers were terror-stricken, and his enemy irresistible. Seeing that he was so surrounded by misfortunes on all sides, he proposed to himself to accept the first offers that the Prince should send him, but not to seek them himself, lest he should betray faint-heartedness and weakness. Concealing this intention from his people, he told them not to lose all hope, and that they still had the power to come victoriously out of the war by the help of their own valour. He said that they should pluck up spirit to defend their country, for the safety and freedom of which they were bound to die fighting, and not to show faint hearts, for that it was the fortune of war to win on some days and lose on others; that if some of their women were taken as slaves now, they should remember how many more of the enemy's they had taken in former days; and that he hoped before long to ensure their freedom. He urged them to be brave at heart, to show no weakness, for that they had felt no quailing before the enemy in pre-

vious wars, and that there was no more reason to feel it now. He ended by assuring them that he felt more anxiety for their welfare than for his own safety.

With these sad hopes and weak counsels, which consisted more in words than in deeds, the great Chimu dismissed his relations, remaining in deep affliction at the sight of their despondency. Then he continued to maintain the war with as much spirit as he could muster until the customary offers of peace and friendship arrived from the Ynca, such as had many times been sent him before. He heard the message with an outward appearance of obduracy, although in reality he felt submissive, and replied that he saw no cause for accepting the offer, but from a desire for the welfare of his people, he would consult with them on the best course to adopt. He then summoned his captains and relations, and referred the offer of the Ynca to them, desiring them to decide upon the best course, and adding that, though it would be contrary to his own wishes, he would obey the Ynca if it was for the good of his people.

The captains rejoiced greatly to find that their chief had in some measure abated his former obstinacy, and, therefore, they answered, with some spirit and freedom, that it was very right to acknowledge as their Lord a Prince so pious and merciful as the Ynca, who, though they were almost conquered, had invited them to become friends.

This resolute opinion, delivered more with the assurance of free men than with the humility of vassals, convinced the powerful Chimu that they were determined in their rebellion; and he, therefore, sent an embassy to the Prince Ynca Yupanqui, beseeching him not to withdraw from his people the merciful clemency that the children of the Sun had shown in all the four quarters of the globe. They had pardoned all who, like himself, had been obstinate and rebellious, and he now acknowledged his error, and asked for pardon, having a conviction that the Yncas, the Prince's

ancestors, had always granted pardons to the conquered. He urged that the Prince, who prized so highly the title of lover and benefactor of the poor, should not refuse it, and he besought the same pardon for all his people who were less culpable than himself, because their resistance had been caused more by the persistency of their chief than by their own free will.

The Prince rejoiced at receiving this embassy, and at the completion of the conquest without further bloodshed. He received the envoys with great affability, gave them presents, and ordered them to go back and return with their chief, that he might himself receive a pardon from the mouth of the Ynca, and receive favours from his own hands.

The brave Chimu, now cured of his pride and haughtiness, appeared before the Prince with so much submissive humility that he went down on the ground and repeated the same prayer that had previously been conveyed by his envoys. The Prince, to soften his affliction, received him very lovingly, and ordered two captains to raise him from the ground. Having heard his prayer, the Ynca replied that all the past was forgiven; that he had not come to that land to deprive its chief of estate and lordship, but to improve his condition by introducing better laws and customs. In proof of what he said, and lest the Chimu should fear that he had lost his estate, the Ynca freely granted it to him, to hold in perfect security, on condition that he would throw his idols to the ground, being the figures of beasts and fish, adoring the Sun, and acknowledging the Ynca as his sovereign.

Chimu was rejoiced at the kindness and urbanity shown by the Prince, and at the merciful words he spoke. He replied that the only sorrow he now felt was at not having obeyed the word of such a Lord as soon as he heard it, and that although the Prince had pardoned this evil deed, he should mourn it in his heart for the rest of his life. For the rest he promised to obey all the Ynca's commands respecting his religion and customs with good will.

Thus the peace and vassalage of Chimu was secured, and the Ynca made its chief presents of clothes for himself and his nobles. The Prince then visited the different valleys, and ordered them to be adorned and enriched with grand edifices and irrigation channels in much larger numbers than existed before. He also formed storehouses as well for the rents of the Sun and the Ynca, as to succour the people in times of scarcity. It was the ancient custom of the Yncas to order all these things to be done. The Prince also commanded a fortress to be erected in the Valley of Parmunca, in memory of his victory over the King Chimu, which was valued highly. For this war had been hotly contested on both sides. The fortress was ordered to be built in that valley, because it was there that the war was commenced. This edifice was strongly and admirably built, and was gaily ornamented with paintings, and other royal adornments. But the strangers have respected none of these things, pulling the whole building to the ground. A few bits still remain which defied the ignorance of the destroyers, and survive to show how grand an edifice it once was.

Having made the above arrangements, and left the necessary officials for the superintendence of the laws and revenue, as well as the usual garrison, the Prince departed from Chimu, leaving the chief well satisfied, and returned to Cuzco, where he was solemnly received in triumph, and the rejoicings continued for a month.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE YNCA CONTINUES TO AGGRANDIZE HIS EMPIRE, AND HIS EMPLOYMENT UNTIL HIS DEATH.

The Ynca Pachacutec, being now old, resolved to rest and not to make further conquests; for he had increased his empire until it was more than one hundred and thirty leagues

from north to south, and in width from the snowy chain of the Andes to the sea, being sixty leagues from east to west in some places, and seventy in others, more or less. He now devoted himself to the confirmation of the laws of his ancestors, and to the enactment of new laws for the common good.

He founded many towns in those lands which by industry and by means of the numerous irrigation channels he caused to be made, were converted from sterile and uncultivated wilds into fruitful and rich districts.

He built many temples of the Sun in imitation of that at Cuzco, and many convents of virgins. He ordered many store-houses on the royal roads to be repaired, and houses to be built where the Yncas might lodge when travelling.

He also caused store-houses to be built in all villages, large or small, where supplies might be kept for succouring the people in times of scarcity, and he ordered these depôts to be filled from the crops of the Ynca and of the Sun. In short, it may be said that he completely reformed the empire, as well as regards their vain religion, which he provided with new rites and ceremonies, destroying the numerous idols of his vassals, as by enacting new laws and regulations for the daily and moral life of the people, forbidding the abuses and barbarous customs to which the Indians were addicted before they were brought under his rule.

He also reformed the army in such fashion as proved him to be as great a captain as he was a king and a ruler; and he increased the honours and favours shown to those who distinguished themselves in war. He especially favoured and enlarged the great city of Cuzco, enriching it with new edifices and a larger population. He ordered a palace to be built for himself near the schools founded by his great grandfather Ynca Rocca. On account of these deeds, as well as for his amiable disposition and benignant government, he was loved and worshipped as another Jupiter. He

reigned, according to the accounts of the Indians, more than fifty years, and some say more than sixty years. He lived in much peace and tranquillity, being alike beloved and obeyed, and at the end of this long time he died. He was universally lamented by all his vassals, and was placed among the number of their gods, as were the other Kings Yncas, his ancestors. He was embalmed, according to their custom, and the mourning, sacrifices and burial ceremonies lasted for a year.

He left as his heir the Ynca Yupanqui, who was his son by the Ccoya Anahuarque, his legitimate wife and sister. He left more than three hundred other sons and daughters, and some even say that, judging from his long life and the number of his wives, he must have had four hundred either legitimate or illegitimate children; and though this is a great many, the Indians say that it was few for such a father.

The Spanish historians confuse these two Kings, father and son, giving the names of both to one. The father was named Pachacutec. The name Ynca was common to all, for it was their title from the days of the first Ynca, called Manco Ccapac. In our account of the life of Lloque Yupanqui we described the meaning of the word Yupanqui, which word was also the name of this King, and combining the two names, they formed Ynca Yupanqui, which title was applied to all the Kings Yncas, so that Yupanqui ceased to be a special name. These two names are equivalent to the names Cæsar Augustus, given to all the Emperors. Thus the Indians, in recounting the deeds of their Kings, and calling them by their names, would say, Pachacutec Ynca Yupanqui. The Spaniards understood that this was one King, and they do not admit the son and successor of Pachacutec, who was called Ynca Yupanqui, taking the two titles as his special name, and giving the same name to his own eldest son. But the Indians, to distinguish him from his father, called

the latter Tupac (which means 'He who shines) Ynca Yupanqui. He was father of Huayna Ccapac Ynca Yupanqui, and grandfather of Huascar Ynca Yupanqui; and so all the other Yncas may be called by these titles. I have said this much to enable those who read this history to avoid confusion.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YNCA PACHACUTEC INCREASED THE SCHOOLS. HE MADE LAWS FOR THEIR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

The Father Blas Valera, speaking of this Ynca, says as follows: "The Ynca Huira-ceocha being dead and worshipped among the Indians as a god, his son, the great Titu, with surname of Manco Ccapac, succeeded him. This was his name until his father gave him that of Pachacutec, which means 'Reformer of the World.' That title was confirmed afterwards by his distinguished acts and sayings, insomuch that his first name was entirely forgotten. He governed his empire with so much industry, prudence and resolution, as well in peace as in war, that not only did he increase the boundaries of all the four quarters, called *Ttahua-ntin suyu*, but also he enacted many laws, all which have been confirmed by our Catholic Kings, except those relating to idolatry and to forbidden degrees of marriage. This Ynca above all things ennobled and increased, with great privileges, the schools that were founded in Cuzco by the King Ynca Rocca. He added to the number of the masters, and ordered that all the lords of vassals and captains and their sons, and all the Indians who held any office, should speak the language of Cuzco; and that no one should receive any office or lordship who was not well acquainted with it. In order that this useful law might have full effect,

he appointed very learned masters for the sons of the princes and nobles, not only for those in Cuzco, but also for those throughout the provinces, in which he stationed masters that they might teach the language of Cuzco to all who were employed in the service of the state. Thus it was that in the whole empire of Peru one language was spoken, although now (owing to negligence) many provinces, where it was understood, have entirely lost it, not without great injury to the preaching of the gospel. All the Indians who, by obeying this law, still retain a knowledge of the language of Cuzco, are more civilised and more intelligent than the others."

"This Pachacutec prohibited any one, except princes and their sons, from wearing gold, silver, precious stones, plumes of feathers of different colours, nor the wool of the vicuña, which they weave with admirable skill. He permitted the people to be moderately ornamented on the first days of the month, and on some other festivals. The tributary Indians still observe this law, and content themselves with ordinary clothes, by which they avoid much vice which gay clothing is apt to cause. But the Indians, who are servants to Spaniards, and those who live in Spanish cities, are very extravagant in this particular, and do much harm alike to their pockets and consciences. This Ynca also ordered that great frugality should be observed in eating, although in drinking more freedom was allowed, both among the princes and the common people. He ordained that there should be special judges to try the idle, and desired that all should be engaged in work of some kind, either in serving their parents or masters, or in the service of the state; so much so, that even boys and girls of from five to seven years of age were given something to do suitable to their years. The blind, lame, and dumb, who could use their hands, were employed in some kind of work, and the aged were sent to scare the birds

from the crops, and were supplied with food and clothing from the public store-houses. In order that labour might not be so continuous as to become oppressive, the Ynca ordained that there should be three holidays every month, in which the people should divert themselves with various games. He also commanded that there should be three fairs every month, when the labourers in the field should come to the market and hear anything that the Ynca or his Council might have ordained. They called these assemblies *Catu*, and they took place on the holidays. The Ynca also made a law that every province should have a fixed boundary enclosing the forests, pastures, rivers, lakes, mountains, and lands for tillage; all which should belong to that province and be within its jurisdiction in perpetuity. No Governor or Curaca could diminish or divide or appropriate to his own use any portion; but the land was divided according to a fixed rule which was defined by the same law for the common good, and the special benefit of the inhabitants of the province. The royal estates and those of the Sun were set apart, and the Indians had to plough, sow, and reap the crops, as well on their own lands as on those of the State. Hence it will be seen that it is false, what many have asserted, that the Indians had no proprietary right in the land. For this division was not made with reference to proprietary right, but for the common and special work to be expended upon the land. It was a very ancient custom among the Indians to work together, not only on public lands, but also on their own, and with this view they measured the land, that each might complete such portion as he was able. The whole population assembled, and first worked their own lands in common, each one helping his neighbours, and then they began upon the royal estates; and the same practice was followed in sowing and in reaping. Almost in the same way they built their houses. The Indian who required a house went to the Council to

appoint a day when it should be built, the inhabitants with one accord assembled to assist their neighbour, and thus the house was completed. The Ynca approved of this custom, and confirmed it by a law. To this day many villages of Indians observe this law, and help each other with Christian charity; but avaricious men, who think only of themselves, do themselves harm and their neighbours no good."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MANY OTHER LAWS OF THE YNCA PACHACUTEC, AND HIS SENTENTIOUS SAYINGS.

"In fine this King, with the advice of his Council, made many laws, rules, ordinances, and customs for the good of the people in numerous provinces. He also abolished many others which were detrimental either to the public peace or to his sovereignty. He also enacted many statutes against blasphemy, patricide, fratricide, homicide, treason, adultery, child-stealing, seduction, theft, arson; as well as regulations for the ceremonies of the temple. He confirmed many more that had been enacted by the Yncas his ancestors; such as that sons should obey and serve their fathers until they reached the age of twenty-five, that none should marry without the consent of the parents, and of the parents of the girl; that a marriage without this consent was invalid and the children illegitimate; but that if the consent was obtained afterwards the children then became legitimate. This Ynca also confirmed the laws of inheritance to lordships according to the ancient customs of each province; and he forbade the judges from receiving bribes from litigants. This Ynca made many other laws of less importance, which I omit, to avoid prolixity. Further on I shall

relate what laws he made for the guidance of judges, for the contracting of marriages, for making wills, and for the army, as well as for reckoning the years. In our time the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, changed or revoked many laws and regulations made by this Ynca; and the Indians, admiring his absolute power, called him the second Pachacutec, for they said he was the Reformer of the first Reformer. Their reverence and veneration for this Ynca was so great that to this day they cannot forget him."

Down to this point is from what I found amongst the torn papers of Father Blas Valera. That which he promises to write further on, touching the judges, marriages, wills, the army, and the reckoning of the year, is lost, which is a great pity. On another leaf I found part of the sententious sayings of this Ynca Pachacutec, which are as follows:—

"When subjects, captains and Curacas, cordially obey the King, then the kingdom enjoys perfect peace and quiet.

"Envy is a worm that gnaws and consumes the entrails of the envious.

"He that envies and is envied, has a double torment.

"It is better that others should envy you for being good, than that you should envy others, you yourself being evil.

"He that envies another, injures himself.

"He that envies the good, draws evil from them for himself, as does the spider in taking poison from flowers.

"Drunkenness, anger and madness go together; only the first two are voluntary and to be removed, while the last is perpetual.

"He that kills another without authority or just cause, condemns himself to death.

"He that kills his neighbour must of necessity die; and for this reason the ancient Kings, our ancestors, ordained that all homicides should be punished by a violent death, a law which we confirm afresh.

"Under no circumstances should thieves be tolerated, who, being able to gain a livelihood by honest labour and to possess it by a just right, wish to have more by robbing and stealing. It is very just that he who is a thief should be put to death.

"Adulterers, who destroy the peace and happiness of others, ought to be declared thieves, and condemned to death without mercy.

"The noble and generous man is known by the patience he shows in adversity.

"Impatience is the sign of a vile and base mind, badly taught and worse accustomed.

"When subjects do their best to obey without any hesitation, kings and governors ought to treat them with liberality and kindness; but when they act otherwise, with rigour and strict justice, though always with prudence.

"Judges who secretly receive gifts from suitors ought to be looked upon as thieves, and punished with death as such.

"Governors ought to attend to two things with much attention. The first is, that they and their subjects keep and comply exactly with the laws of their king. The second, that they consult with much vigilance and care, touching the common and special affairs of their provinces. The man who knows not how to govern his house and family, will know much less how to rule a state. Such a man should not be preferred above others.

"The physician herbalist that is ignorant of the virtues of herbs, or who, knowing the uses of some, has not attained a knowledge of all, understands little or nothing. He ought to work until he knows all, as well the useful as the injurious plants, in order to deserve the name he pretends to.

"He who attempts to count the stars, not even knowing how to count the marks and knots of the '*quipus*,' ought to be held in derision."

These are the sayings of Ynca Pachacutec. He speaks of the marks and knots of the accounts because, as they had neither letters for writing nor figures for ciphering, they kept their accounts by means of marks and knots.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

SEVENTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF THE COLONIES FORMED BY THE YNCAS: OF THE EDUCATION OF THE SONS OF THE CHIEFS: OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH PRINCIPAL FESTIVALS: A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF CUZCO: AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUESTS OF YNCA YUPANQUI, THE TENTH KING, IN PERU, AND IN THE KINGDOM OF CHILE; OF THE REBELLION OF THE ARAUCOS AGAINST THE SPANIARDS: OF THE DEATH OF VALDIVIA: OF THE FORTRESS ON CUZCO, AND OF ITS GRANDEUR.

IT CONTAINS TWENTY-NINE CHAPTERS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE YNCAS FORMED COLONIES. THEY USED TWO LANGUAGES.

THE Yncas transplanted Indians from one province to another for special reasons, some for the good of their vassals, and others for their own purposes and to secure their dominions from insurrections. In the course of their conquests the Yncas found some provinces to be naturally fertile, but thinly populated. To these districts they sent Indians who were natives of other provinces with a similar climate. This precaution was taken that no injury might befall the settlers. On other occasions, when the inhabitants of a locality multiplied rapidly, so that their province was not large enough to hold them, they removed a certain proportion of the people to some other district. They also removed Indians from barren and sterile tracts to such as were fertile and prolific, with a view to the benefit both of those that remained and of those that went; because, being relations, they would help each other with their harvests. Thus it is throughout the Collao, a province which is more than one hundred and twenty leagues long, and contains many provinces within itself, peopled by different tribes. Owing to the extreme cold neither maize nor *uchu* (which the Spaniards call pepper) will ripen; but many other crops are raised which do not grow in hot countries, such as the *papa* and *quinua*, and vast flocks are bred. From these cold provinces of the Collao a certain number of Indians were

taken to the country lying east, being that of the Antis, and also to the westward to the region on the sea-coast, where there are great valleys yielding maize, *uchu*, and fruits. These valleys, before the time of the Yncas, were almost uninhabited, because the people had no knowledge of the art of making channels to irrigate the fields. Having carefully considered these things, the Kings Yncas peopled many valleys, hitherto uncultivated, by sending to them some of the Indians who dwelt nearest, and teaching them the art of irrigation. A law was then made by which they were ordered to help their relations, exchanging what remained over of their harvests for the superabundant portions of the crops raised in the high lands. The Yncas also did this for their own benefit to increase the supplies of maize for their armies; for two-thirds of the yield belonged to them, that is, one third to the Sun, and the other to the Ynca. In this way the Yncas had abundant supplies of maize for the cold and sterile land of the Collao. The Collas conveyed large quantities of *quinua* and *chuñu*, and of dried meat called *charqui*, on the backs of their llamas, to the valleys, returning with loads of maize, *uchu*, and fruit, which are not to be had in their own land.

Pedro de Cieza de Leon, speaking on this subject in his ninety-ninth chapter, says:—"When the harvest is good, the people of the Collao live contentedly and without wanting anything; but when the year is bad and the rains fail they suffer great distress. But, in truth, the Kings Yncas who ruled over this empire were so wise, and such excellent governors, that they established laws and customs without which the majority of their people would have suffered great hardships, as they did before they came under the rule of the Yncas. In the Collao, and in all the parts of Peru, where, owing to the cold climate, the land is not so fertile and abundant as in the warm valleys, they ordered that, as the great forests of the Andes bordered on these

sterile tracts, a certain number of Indians with their wives should be taken from each village and stationed to cultivate the land in the places where the chiefs directed them to settle. Here they sowed the things which would not grow in their own country, sending the fruits of their labours to their chiefs, and they were called *Mitimaes*. At the present day they serve the principal *encomenderos* and cultivate the precious coca. Thus, although no maize can be raised throughout the Collao, the chiefs and people did not fail to obtain it by this arrangement, for the *Mitimaes* brought up loads of maize, coca, and fruits of all kinds, besides plenty of honey."[1] Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza, copied word for word.

Colonists were also sent to other provinces for a reason of state. When some warlike kingdom was conquered, of which it might be feared that, owing to its distance from Cuzco and the fierce disposition of the natives, it would not remain loyal or tranquil, then some, and not unfrequently all, the inhabitants were removed to a loyal district, where they would be surrounded on all sides by faithful vassals of the Ynca, and thus would themselves become loyal and bow their necks to the yoke. In forming colonies, the Yncas by privilege of the first King Manco Ccapac were always sent to govern and instruct the newly conquered people. All the Indians who were removed from one district to another were called *Mitmac*, both those who were sent away and those who were brought. The word means "transplanted" or "colonised."

Among other things that the Kings Yncas established for the good government of their empire, was a rule that all their vassals should learn the language of the court, being that which is now known as the general language. For this purpose, teachers, from among the Yncas by privilege, were stationed in each province. It should be understood that the Yncas had another special language which they

[1] See my translation, pp. 361-62.

spoke amongst themselves, but which the other Indians did not understand, nor was it lawful for any to learn it. They write me word from Peru that this language is entirely lost, for, as the dominion of the Yncas perished, so their language disappeared.

Those kings ordered the general language to be learnt for two reasons, one was that there might be no need of a multitude of interpreters to explain the languages of all the tribes in their empire. The Yncas desired that their people should speak to them without the necessity for a third person, knowing how much more satisfactory it must be to have one word from the prince himself than many from his minister. The other reason was that the strange peoples (who had looked upon each other as enemies because they could not understand what they said), by speaking and opening their hearts, might love one another as if they had been of one family and parentage. By this means the Yncas civilised and united a great variety of diverse nations, and by the use of a common language they were led to love each other like brothers. Even many provinces beyond the limits of the empire of the Yncas have appreciated this advantage, and learned to speak the general language of Cuzco, and thus become friends and allies, whereas they used to be mortal enemies. On the other hand, under the new government many nations have forgotten this language, as Father Blas Valera testifies, who writes in these words: "They ordered that all should speak in one language, although at the present day through negligence (I know not of whom) it has been forgotten in many provinces, not without grave mischief to the preaching of the Gospel; for all the Indians who, by obeying this law, retain, until now, the language of Cuzco, are more urbane and intellectual than the rest." Thus far is from Father Blas Valera. Further on we will give a chapter of his, where he says that the loss of the general language of Peru ought not to be allowed,

because, if it was forgotten, the preachers would have to learn many languages in which to teach the Gospel, which would be impossible.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEIRS OF THE CHIEFS WERE BROUGHT UP AT COURT, AND THE REASONS FOR THIS RULE.

Those Kings also ordered that the heirs of the Lords of vassals should be brought up in the court and reside there until they succeeded to the lordships, that they might be well-instructed, and habituated to the customs and breeding of the Yncas. They were treated by the Yncas as friends, that they might love and zealously serve them in future years for the sake of old memories. They were called *Mitmac* because they were settlers. This was also done to ennoble the court by the presence of so many lordly heirs from all parts of the empire.

This rule ensured the learning of the general language with more good will and less trouble; because the servants who accompanied the young lords to the court took back to their own country some knowledge of the court language, and spoke it with much pride amongst their own people, it being the language of a race that was held to be divine. This gave rise to much jealousy among their countrymen, who also desired to learn it. Those who acquired a little knowledge communicated more frequently and freely with the governors and ministers of justice and revenue who held office in their districts. Thus, with gentleness and ease, and without the special teaching from masters, the people learnt and spoke the general language of Cuzco over a region little less than one thousand three hundred leagues in extent, which was subjugated by these kings.

Besides the motive of adding grandeur to their court by the presence of so many princes, those Kings Yncas had another reason for this policy. This was to secure the provinces from rebellions. The empire was of vast extent, and many provinces were four to five and six hundred leagues from the capital. Among them were populous and very warlike nations, such as those of Quitu and Chile, and others who, from their distance and the fierceness of their dispositions, might be expected to rise and attempt to throw off the imperial yoke. And, although one might not succeed alone, they might make a league together and trouble the empire on all sides, thus endangering the supremacy of the Yncas. They adopted, as a remedy against these evils and others which might arise in so vast an empire, the plan of obliging all the heirs to live at court, where they were treated with kindness and attention, according to their respective importance and merits, whether the Ynca was present or absent. The princes gave detailed accounts of these special favours to their fathers, sending them dresses from the Ynca, which were very highly esteemed. Thus the Kings Yncas strove to oblige their vassals and induce them to be loyal for the sake of these benefits. Even when the chiefs were so ungrateful as not to recognise these favours, they at least repressed their evil feelings, seeing that their sons and heirs were at the court as hostages for their fidelity.

Owing to this sagacious policy, and to the uprightness of their rule, the Yncas had their dominions in such a state of peace that, during the whole period of their sway, there were scarcely any rebellions to punish and suppress. The Father José de Acosta, speaking of the government of the Kings Yncas in the twelfth chapter of his sixth book, says: "Without doubt these people held their Yncas in great veneration, so that they were never guilty of treason to them; for the Yncas were not only very powerful, but they also ruled with rectitude and justice, not consenting that

any man should suffer wrong. The Ynca placed his governors in the different provinces, and appointed some of highest rank near his own person, and others in different grades, so that the subordination was complete, and none dared either to be drunk or to take a single *mazorca* of maize from his neighbour." Thus far is from the Father Acosta.

CHAPTER III.

THE COURT LANGUAGE.

The chapter in which Father Blas Valera treated of the general language of Peru was the ninth of the second book of his history, as appears from the torn fragments of his papers. The chapter, with the title as his Paternity wrote it, is as follows: "Chapter IX, *Of the General Language and of its Usefulness.*"

It remains for us to say somewhat touching the general language of the natives of Peru; for, though it is true that each province has a special language, different from the others, that which they call Cuzco is the general language, and, in the time of the Yncas, it was used from Quitu to the kingdoms of Chili and Tucma. Now the Caciques and Indians use it, whom the Spaniards have for their service, and to attend to their affairs. The Kings Yncas, from early times, as soon as they conquered any kingdom or province, among other orders given for the benefit of the vassals, decreed that all men should learn the court language of Cuzco, and teach it to their children. And in order that this command might not be neglected, Indians who were natives of Cuzco were sent to instruct the new vassals in the language and customs of the court. The Yncas ruled their empire, composed of so many nations, peacefully, by means of this arrangement, by which all spoke in one lan-

guage. The sons of those masters who were natives of Cuzco, still lived where their fathers used to teach, scattered over all parts of the empire. But, as they are without the authority that was possessed by their predecessors, they can no longer teach the Indians, nor compel them to learn. For this reason many provinces, in which the general language was spoken when the Spaniards entered Cassamarca, have now entirely forgotten it. The sway and dominion of the Yncas having come to an end, there was no authority to enforce a rule which was so useful in itself, and so important for the preaching of the holy gospel. The neglect of this important law is due to the wars between the Spaniards, but especially, as I believe, to the various impediments strewn in the way by the accursed devil. Hence all the neighbourhood of the city of Truxillo, and many provinces within the jurisdiction of Quitu, are quite ignorant of the general language which their inhabitants once spoke; and all the Collas and Puquinas, content with their own special languages, neglect that of Cuzco. Besides this, in many places where the court language is still spoken, it is so corrupted that it scarcely appears to be the same tongue. It is also to be noted that the confusion caused by a multitude of languages, which the Yncas took such pains to remedy, has again appeared, and now there are more differences among the languages of the Indians than there were in the days of Huayna Ccapac, the last Ynca. Hence, the concord and harmony which was caused by the common language now scarcely exist; for the similarity of words almost always gives rise to a true union and friendship among men. This was little attended to by the ministers who, by order of a Viceroy,[1] brought many small communities of Indians into other larger ones, assembling in one place men speaking many different languages. The impediment to preaching which was formerly caused by the dis-

[1] He alludes to one of the *Ordenanzas* of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

tance between places, is now increased by the diversity of languages in one place, so that (humanly speaking) it is impossible that the Indians of Peru can be properly instructed, while this confusion of tongues lasts, until the priests know all the languages in the empire, which is impossible. There are those who think that all the Indians should be forced to learn Spanish, because the priests waste their labour in acquiring the Indian language. But if the only remedy is for the Indians to learn the Castillian tongue, which is so difficult for them, why should not they learn their own court language, which is easy and would come to them naturally. And if the Spaniards, who are sharp and well skilled in sciences, cannot, as these persons assert, learn the general language of Cuzco, how can the uneducated Indian learn Spanish? It is certain that even if there were many masters ready to teach the Indians the Spanish language, they, not being educated, especially the common sort, would learn it so badly that any priest might acquire the different languages of Peru before the Indians would learn Spanish. There is no reason for us to impose two such heavy burdens on the Indians as to make them forget their own, and learn a strange tongue, in order to free ourselves from the slight trouble of acquiring the court language. It will suffice that the Catholic faith should be taught in the general language of Cuzco, which does not differ very much from the other languages of that empire. This confusion, which has arisen respecting the languages, might be remedied by the Viceroys and other officials, if they would order the sons of those teachers who were appointed by the Ynca, to re-commence the instruction of the other Indians in the general language, according to ancient custom. It is easy to learn; for a priest learned in canon law and pious, whom I knew, who desired the salvation of the *repartimiento* in which he was appointed to preach, endeavoured with much pains to learn the general language, and often besought the Indians to learn it. They

worked to please him, and in little more than a year they learnt and spoke it as if it had been their own mother-tongue. The priest found by experience how much more disposed they were to learn the Christian doctrine in that language than in their own. Surely if this good priest, with moderate trouble, could succeed in getting the Indians to do as he pleased, the Bishops and Viceroys can do the like. By ordering them to know the general language, the Indians of Peru, from Quitu to the Chichas, may be governed and taught with much ease. It is also well worthy of remark that the Indians whom the Yncas ruled with very few judges, are now managed by three hundred Corregidores, who do it with difficulty, and their labour is almost lost. The chief cause of this is the confusion of the language, which prevents inter-communion. The facility of learning the general language of Peru in a short time and with little trouble, is testified to by many who have acquired a knowledge of it, and I knew many priests who became expert in speaking it, with but moderate diligence. There was a priest and theologian in Chuqui-apu[1] who, judging from what he was told by persons unacquainted with the language of the Indians, disliked it so much that it annoyed him even to hear it spoken. He supposed that it was so difficult as that he could not possibly learn it. It fell out, before the College of the Company was founded in that city, that another priest arrived and stayed a few days to preach to the Indians. He preached in public and in the general language. The other priest, for the novelty of the thing, went to hear the sermon, and, when he found that the strange priest declared many things out of the holy evangel to the Indians, who listened with admiration and benefit, he conceived some liking for the language. After the sermon he spoke to the stranger, asking him how, in so barbarous a language, he could declare and speak the divine

[1] The city of La Paz.

words of sweetness and mystery. The strange priest replied that he could not only do this, but that, with a little study of the general language, his brother would be able to do so also, within four or five months. The priest of Chuquiapu, owing to his desire to benefit the souls of the Indians, promised to learn it with all care and diligence, and, having received certain rules and hints from the stranger, he studied the language to such purpose that in six months he was able to hear confessions from the Indians, and to preach to them, to his own great satisfaction, and to their benefit.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE UTILITY OF THE COURT LANGUAGE.

"We have shown how easy it is for the Spaniards to learn the court language, and it may, therefore, be taken for granted that the Indians themselves would acquire it with much greater facility, because it is allied to their own dialects. This is easily proved by the fact that the common Indians who come to the City of the Kings, to Cuzco, to the city of La Plata, or to the mines of Potocchi, having the necessity for gaining their livelihood by the work of their hands, speak the language of Cuzco fluently in a few months by the mere continuous habit of communication with the other Indians, and without having any rules to guide them. When they return to their native places, speaking the new and more noble language that they have learnt, they appear more noble themselves, more polished, and more clear in their understandings. The Indians of their village respect them, and look up to them by reason of this royal language that they have learnt, which is the reward they most value. The Fathers of the Company, in the village called Sulli,

whose inhabitants are all Aymaraes,[1] noted this; and many other priests, as well as the Corregidors and Judges of these provinces, say the same, affirming also that the court language has a special gift, which is worthy of note, which is that it is of the same use to the Indians of Peru as Latin is to us. In addition to its usefulness in all commercial and other temporal transactions, and for spiritual ends, it also has the effect of brightening the intellects and rendering more civilised and gentle those who learn it, converting them from barbarians to polished and urbane citizens. Thus the Indians called Puquinas,[2] Collas,[3] Urus,[2] Yuncas,[4] and others who are so rude and barbarous that they can scarcely speak their own language, when they attain a knowledge of the language of Cuzco, they free themselves from the barbarity and dulness which had before distinguished them, and aspire to more civilised ways and to higher things. Finally, they become more capable and fit to receive the doctrine of the Catholic Faith. The preachers who know this court language are able to treat of serious things and to declare them to their hearers without fear. For the Indians who speak this language have their intellects more clear and apt to comprehend, and the language itself possesses more scope, and a great variety of elegant and figurative modes of expression. Thus the Yncas of Cuzco, who speak with more elegance

[1] The *Aymaras* were a branch of the Quichuas living in the valley of the Pachachaca, hundreds of miles from *Sulli* (or Juli), which is a village on the western shore of lake Titicaca. (See Lib. iii, cap. xi, vol. I, p. 237.) But several families of Aymaras were brought to this part of the country as *mitimaes* or colonists, by Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. (See *Ramos. Historia de Copacabana*). Hence the absurd blunder of the Jesuits, at Juli, in calling the language of the Indians round lake Titicaca *Aymara:* a blunder which has been continued in modern times.

[2] *Puquina* was a language spoken by the *Urus*, a tribe of savage Indians living among the rushes in the S.W. corner of lake Titicaca.

[3] Natives of the basin of lake Titicaca.

[4] The Yuncas were the civilised Indians of the Peruvian coast. But the name is Quichua.

and breeding, comprehend and feel the doctrines of the Evangel, more thoroughly and to better purpose. Although it is true that in many parts, as among the barbarous Uriquillas and the fierce Chirihuanas,[1] the divine grace has often worked without these aids, and has wrought marvellous and great wonders as we shall relate further on, yet as a general rule it is assisted and furthered by these human means. It is quite clear that, among the many other ways that the Divine Majesty saw fit to make use of for disposing that wild and barbarous people to hear the preaching of the Gospel, was the care and diligence the Yncas displayed in teaching their vassals by the light of the law of nature, one of the principal methods of doing which was by causing them all to speak one language. The Kings Yncas (not without divine guidance) enforced this measure throughout the whole of their dominions with much assiduity. It is a great pity that what those gentle barbarians laboured to effect and succeeded in establishing to prevent the confusion of tongues by management and industry, we have shown ourself negligent and careless in perpetuating, though it is so convenient for teaching the doctrine of Christ our Lord to the Indians. Surely the governors who have succeeded in effecting many difficult measures down to the most arduous one of reducing these people to subjection, can also order a thing so easy as this, with a view to the extirpation of the idolatrous darkness among the Indians who are now professing Christians."

Thus far is from the Father Blas Valera, and I have inserted it here, because it appeared to be a measure so necessary for the teaching of the Christian doctrine. His further remarks upon this language (as befits a man who was learned in many tongues) relate to comparisons between the language of Peru and the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But, as these remarks are unnecessary for the teaching of the Gospel, I do not give them. I will, however, quote what Father Blas

[1] See Lib. vii, chap. 17.

Valera remarks, in another part of his papers, in opposition to those who hold that the Indians of the new world descend from the descendants of Abraham, and who put forward certain words of the general language of Peru which appear to resemble Hebrew, not in meaning, but in sound, as proofs of their theory. Reproving this idea, Father Blas Valera says, among other learned remarks, that the general language of Peru wants those letters which we enumerated in a previous notice, namely B, D, F, G, J, X. Now the Jews so revered their father Abraham that they never let his name fall from their mouths. How then could their descendants have a language which wants the letter B, so important in the pronunciation of the word Abraham. To this reason we will add another, which is that the language does not possess a syllable composed of two consonants, known as a mute with a liquid, such as *bra, cra, cro, pla, plo, ella, ello,* and the like, so that, to name the word Abraham, the general language wants, not only the letter B, but also the syllable *bra.* Hence, it may be inferred that those who wish to establish by conjecture a thing that they cannot show by clear reasoning, are in the wrong. It is, however, true that this general language of Peru has some words with letters forming a mute with a liquid, as *papri,*[1] *huacra,*[2] *rocro,*[3] *pocra,*[4] *chacra,*[5] *llaclla,*[6] *choclla.*[7] But, to spell these words by syllables, or to pronounce them, it is necessary to separate the mute from the liquid, as *pap-ri, huac-ra, roc-ro, poc-ra, chac-ra, llac-lla, choc-llo,* and so with all similar words. The Spaniards do not attend to this rule, but corrupt the letters and syllables. Where an Indian would say *pampa,* which means an open space, the Spaniards say *bamba,* for *ynca* they say *ynga,* for *rocro locro,* and so with

[1] One of the *Ayllus,* or tribes of the Yncas, near Cuzco.
[2] A horn.
[3] A dish of potatoes and capsicums.
[4] A tribe of the Chancas, near Guamanga.
[5] A form.
[6] Pusillanimous, weak.
[7] An ear of maize.

BOM
BRA
OF
AI

other similar words, so that they scarcely use any Indian syllable without corrupting it, as we have already stated at length, and shall again further on. At present it will be well to return to the history.

CHAPTER V.

THE THIRD SOLEMN FEAST IN HONOUR OF THE SUN.

The Ynca celebrated four solemn feasts at his court, during the year. The principal and most solemn one was the feast of the Sun called *Raymi*, of which we have already given a full account.[1] The second, and not less important, was that which they celebrated when they made knights of the novices of the blood royal, which we have also described. It remains to mention the two others, with which we shall leave the subject of the festivals; for it would be very tedious to describe those celebrated every month, and the special ones on the occasion of a victory, or when any province voluntarily submitted to the Ynca. It will suffice to observe that on such occasions the ceremonies were performed within the temple of the Sun, as on occasion of the principal festivals, but with less grandeur and solemnity, and without coming forth into the public squares.

The third solemn festival was called *Cusqui-raymi*. It was celebrated when the maize seeds began to sprout and show themselves. They then offered up many lambs and ewes to the Sun, praying that he would order the frost not to injure the maize; for the valleys of Cuzco and Sacsahuana, and all others in the same temperature, are exposed to frosts, which injure the maize more than the crops of beans. For it freezes in those valleys all the year round, as well in

[1] Page 155.

winter as in summer; and the frosts are more severe at St. John's day than at Christmas, because the Sun is then more distant. If the Indians saw that the sky was clear and without clouds on the first night of the sprouting, they feared the frost, and lit fires in their back yards to create smoke. Each Indian raised a smoke in his yard, saying that the smoke would serve in place of the clouds, to prevent it from freezing. I saw this when I was at Cuzco. I cannot say whether it is done still or not, nor can I say whether it be true or not that the smoke prevented the frost from coming; for, being but a lad, I did not think of investigating the customs of the Indians very closely.

As the maize was the principal food of the Indians, and the frost was very injurious to it, they had a great dread of frost, and at the time when its evil effects would be most harmful they besought the Sun, with sacrifices and dances, and with great libations, to order the frost to desist from harming the crops. All the flesh of the sacrificed animals was given to the assembled people because the festival was held for the good of all; except the principal lamb offered to the Sun, and the blood and entrails of the others, which were burnt in the fire, and offered to their God the Sun, as at the feast of Raymi.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FOURTH FEAST, WITH THE FASTS AND THE CLEANSING FROM EVIL.

The fourth and last solemn feast which the Kings Yncas celebrated in their court was called Situa. It was of much importance to the whole community; for it was intended as a means of banishing from the city and its vicinity all disease

and troubles. It was like the expiations of the ancients, through which they strove to purify and cleanse themselves from their ills. They prepared themselves for this feast by fasting and abstaining from women. The fast was observed on the first day of the moon in the month of September, after the equinox. The Yncas had two kinds of rigorous fasts, one more severe than the other. The most severe was a diet of maize and water, and the maize had to be raw and in small quantity. This fast, owing to its severity, did not exceed three days. In the other less rigorous fast they could eat toasted maize, and in somewhat larger quantity, and a few herbs, as well as *aji*, which the Indians call *uchu*, and salt, and they drank their beverage. But they could not eat the meat of beasts or fish, nor dressed herbs; and neither in one fast nor the other could they eat more than once a day. They called the fast *Caçi*, and the more rigorous one *Hatun Caçi*, which means "the great fast".

All the people—men, women, and children—having been prepared by a day of fasting, kneaded the bread called *cancu* on the following night, and cooked it in small lumps, in dry pots; for they did not know how to make ovens. They had two ways of making bread. Into one kind they put human blood of children between the ages of five and ten, obtained by bleeding and not by killing them. They drew it from between the eyebrows, just above the nose; and this was the place whence they drew blood for curing diseases. I have seen them do this; and they cooked each kind of bread apart, because they were for different uses. Each family assembled at the house of the eldest brother to celebrate the feast; and those who had none, went to the house of the nearest relation of greater age. On the same night as the kneading of the bread took place, all those who had fasted, washed their bodies and took a little of the kneaded paste mixed with blood, and rubbed it over the head, face, breast, shoulders, arms, and legs. They washed themselves

with it, in order that it might clear them of all their infirmities. After this, the head of the family anointed the threshold with the same paste, and left it there as a sign that the inmates of the house had performed the ablutions and cleansed their bodies. The High Priest performed the same ceremonies in the house of the Sun, and sent other Priests to perform them in the convent of virgins, and at Huanacauti,[1] a temple a league from the city, which was held in great veneration, because it was the first place where the Ynca Manco Ccapac rested, when he came to Cuzco; as we have related in its proper place. They also sent priests to the other sacred places, which were those where the devil had spoken to them, making himself out to be God. An uncle of the king, who was the eldest of the legitimate princes, performed the ceremonies in the palace.

As soon as the Sun rose all the people worshipped and besought him to drive all evils out of the city, and then they broke their fasts with the other bread, that had been kneaded without blood. When the act of worship and the breaking of the fast were completed (and they took place at a stated hour in order that all might adore the Sun as one man), an Ynca of the blood royal came forth from the fortress, as a messenger of the Sun, richly dressed, with his mantle girded round his body, and a lance in his hand. The lance was adorned with feathers of many colours, extending from the point to the socket, and fastened with rings of gold. The same ensign served as a banner in time of war. He came forth from the fortress, and not from the temple of the Sun, because it was said that he was a messenger of war and not of peace; and the fortress was a house of the Sun when matters relating to war and arms were to be considered, while the temple was his abode in matters of peace and friendship. He ran down the hill from the Sacsahuaman, brandishing his lance, until he reached the centre of the

[1] See vol. i, p. 65.

great square, where there were four other Yncas of the blood royal, each with a lance in his hand, and mantle girded up, as is the fashion with all Indians when they run or perform any important act, that they may not be hindered. The messenger touched with his lance those of the other four, and told them that the Sun had ordered them, as his messengers, to drive the evils out of the city.

The four Yncas then separated, running down the four royal roads which lead out of the city to the four quarters of the world, called Thahuantin-suyu. While they were running, all the inhabitants, men and women, old and young, came to the doors of their houses and, with great shouts of joy and gladness, shook the clothes they had on, as if they were shaking off dust. They then passed their hands over their heads, faces, arms, and legs, as if in the act of washing. All this was done to drive the evils out of their houses, that the messengers of the Sun might banish them from the city. This was done not only in the streets through which the four Yncas ran, but generally in all parts of the city. The messengers ran with their lances for a quarter of a league outside the city, where they found four other Yncas ready, who were not of the blood royal, but of those who held the title by privilege. These received the lances, and ran another quarter of a league, and handed them to others, and so on, for five or six leagues, at the end of which distance they stuck up the lances, in sign of placing a boundary for the banished evils, within which they might not return.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NOCTURNAL FESTIVAL TO DRIVE EVILS OUT OF THE CITY.

On the following night they came forth with great torches of straw rolled up like a ball. They call them *pancuncu*, and they are a long time burning. They marched with them through all the streets until they were outside the city; believing that they were driving out the nocturnal evils with the torches, as they did those of daylight with their lances. They then put the lighted torches into the streams, as well as the water in which they had washed the day before, that the running streams might carry the evils to the sea, which they had turned out of their houses, and out of the city, by these means. If afterwards any Indian, of whatever age, came across one of these torches in the street, he fled from it more quickly than from fire, that the evils might not come upon him, which the torch was carrying away.

The evils having been driven out by fire and torch, the people celebrated feasts and had great rejoicings during all that quarter of the moon; giving thanks to the Sun for having expelled the evils, and sacrificing sheep and lambs, whose blood and entrails when burnt, and the flesh roasted in the square, were distributed to all who were present at the feast. During these days and nights there was singing and dancing, and other modes of rejoicing, both in the houses and in the squares, to show their sense of the benefits and health being received by all, in common.

I remember having seen a part of this festival in my childhood. I saw the first Ynca come forth with the lance, not from the fortress, which was then abandoned, but from one of the houses of the Yncas, which was on one of the slopes of the hill on which the fortress stands, called the Collcampata. I saw the four Indians run with their lances; I saw

all the rest of the people shake their clothes; I saw them eat the bread called *cancu;* I saw the torches called *pancanca;* but I did not see the nocturnal ceremony, because it was late, and I was then asleep. I remember that, on another day, I saw a *pancancu* in the stream which flows through the middle of the square, near the house of my schoolfellow, Juan de Cellorico. I remember that the Indian boys, who were passing in the street, ran away from it; but that I did not run because I did not know the cause. If they had told me, I should also have run away; for I was but a child of six or seven years of age.

They had thrown that torch away in the middle of the city because in those days they did not perform the ceremony with the care and veneration that were customary in the days of their kings. For it was not done, at that time, to drive out the evils, the people being then undeceived as regards such matters, but in memory of past times. For many old men of the heathen times were still alive, who had not been baptised. In the time of the Yncas they did not throw away the torches until they were outside the city, and there they left them. They threw away the water in which they had washed their bodies, into the streams where the torches were cast out, although they might have to go far from their own houses to seek them. It was not lawful for them to pour it out anywhere, except into these streams, lest the evils of which they had freed themselves by washing should still remain, instead of being taken by the running water to the sea.

The Indians celebrated another festival, each man in his own house, after they had stored up their corn in their *piruas* or granaries. On these occasions they burnt a little grease near the granaries, as a sacrifice to the Sun. The nobler and richer people burnt guinea-pigs, called *coy*, giving thanks that they had been supplied with bread for their food during that year, and praying that the granaries

might be guarded. At that time they offered up no other prayers than these.

The priests celebrated other feasts during the year, within the temple of the Sun, but they did not then come forth into the square, nor were these ceremonies to be compared with the four principal festivals which we have described, and which were like our great church festivals. The ordinary feasts were kept when they offered up monthly sacrifices to the Sun.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CITY OF CUZCO.

The Ynca Manco Ccapac was the founder of the city of Cuzco, which the Spaniards honoured with a great and glorious title without depriving it of its own name. They called it the great city of Cuzco, head of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru. They also called it New Toledo, but this second name fell into disuse, owing to its being inappropriate, for Cuzco has no river surrounding it, like Toledo, nor do the two sites resemble each other. At Cuzco the buildings commence on the sides of a high hill, and extend over a wide plain. The city has long and wide streets, and very large squares. Hence all the Spaniards, especially the royal scribes and notaries in their writings, give it the first title. For Cuzco, with regard to the Ynca Empire, was another Rome,[1] and the one city may well be compared with the

[1] Colonel O'Leary also compared Cuzco to Rome, when he entered it during the War of Independence. General Miller's *Memoirs*, ii, p. 225 :—"Cuzco interests me highly. Its history, its fables, its ruins, are enchanting. This city may, with truth, be called the Rome of America. The immense fortress on the north is the Capitol. The temple of the Sun is its Coliseum. Manco Capac was its Romulus. Viracocha its Augus-

other, as they resemble each other in several things. The first and principal resemblance is that both were founded by their first kings. The second is that both obliged many and divers nations to submit to their sway. The third is the numerous good and excellent laws that were promulgated from both for the public good. The fourth is the number of great and excellent men they produced, and formed by their good civil and military institutions. In these things Rome had the advantage over Cuzco, not in having produced more great men, but in having educated them to more purpose through the invention of letters, by which also their deeds were immortalised, and through which they became not less illustrious for arts, than excellent in the use of arms, the one rivalling the other: the one achieving deeds in peace and war, the other writing of their achievements for the honour of their country, and for a perpetual memorial of their deeds. I know not which did most, the men of the sword or of the pen. Both faculties being heroic, they are often found together, as in the case of the great Julius Cæsar, who wielded both with such excellence that it is uncertain in which he was greatest. It is also a question which of those two employments of great men owes most to the other: whether the warriors to the men of letters, for immortalising their deeds; or the men of letters to those of arms, for furnishing them with such themes on which to write. There is much to be said on either side. But it was the misfortune of my country that, although it produced sons who were distinguished as warriors, and others who were learned and able in studying the arts of peace; yet, owing to the want of letters, no memorial was preserved of their noble deeds and memorable sayings. Thus they and

tus, Huascar its Pompey, and Atahualpa its Cæsar. The Pizarros, Almagros, Valdivias, and Toledos are the Huns, Goths, and Christians, who have destroyed it. Tupac Amaru is its Belisarius, who gave it a day of hope. Pumacagua is its Rienzi and last patriot."

their deeds perished with their country. All that has remained is the memory of some of their deeds and words which are preserved by the unreliable means of handing them down from father to children. Even these are lost through the arrival of a new people, and the change of government, as always happens when empires pass into foreign hands.

Influenced by a desire to preserve the antiquities of my country, or the few that have survived, that they might not be entirely lost, I undertook the excessively laborious task which this work has been to me, as far as I have gone, and which the rest will prove to be. As the city of Cuzco, the mother and lady of the ancient empire, should not be forgotten, I have determined to describe it in this chapter, by means of the same traditions which I, as a native, have received. I shall give the ancient names of the wards, which they retained up to the time when I left the city in 1560. Since that time the names of some of them have been changed to those of the parish churches that have been erected in them.

The King Manco Ccapac, considering well the advantages possessed by this beautiful vale of Cuzco, its level surface surrounded on all sides with lofty heights, with four streams of water irrigating the land; and with a most beautiful fountain of salt water in the centre from which to manufacture salt; and finding that the land was fertile, and the climate healthy; resolved to found an imperial city on that site, in accordance, as the Indians stated, with the will of the Sun. This will was manifested by the sign of the golden sceptre; which showed that the Sun desired to have his court here, and to make this place the head of his empire. The climate of Cuzco is cold rather than warm; but not so much so as to oblige one to seek a fire for warmth. It is enough to enter a sheltered place, where there is no movement of air, to get rid of the cold that is felt in the street.

If there is a *brasero* lighted, it is known at once; if not, its want is not felt. It is the same with clothing. If one goes out in summer clothes, they are sufficient; and if in winter wraps, they are equally comfortable. Likewise, as regards bed-clothes: one blanket is enough, and three are not too many. These remarks apply all the year round, without distinction of summer or winter; and they are equally applicable to any other temperately cold or warm region in that land. As Cuzco has a climate which is more dry and cold than moist and warm, the meat does not get bad. If a joint is hung up in a room with open windows, it will keep for from eight to twenty and a hundred days, until it is dry like hung beef. I saw this as regards the meat of the flocks of that country; but I do not know whether it is the same with the flocks that have been introduced from Spain; for, in my time, they had not begun to kill the sheep of Castille, by reason of the small number they had for breeding purposes. On account of the cold climate there are very few flies, and those are only seen in the sun. There are none inside the houses. There are no stinging mosquitos, nor other vexatious insects. That city is quite free from such nuisances. The first houses were built on the sides of the hill called Sacsahuaman, which is to the north-east of the city. The successors of the first Ynca afterwards built that proud fortress on the summit of the hill, which was little cared for, and in fact dismantled by those who captured it, a very short time after the conquest. The city was divided into the two divisions which I have already mentioned, namely, Hanan Cuzco, which means Upper Cuzco; and Hurin, or Lower Cuzco. The northern half was called HANAN, and the southern HURIN CUZCO.[1] The first and principal ward was called COLLCAM-PATA. *Collcam* may have been a word in the special dialect of the Yncas; for I do not know what it means.[2] *Pata* means a terrace, and also a step in a stair-

[1] See vol. i, p. 67.

[2] *Collcam* means an underground granary. It was also the Quichua

case. For, as the terraces were made in the form of steps, they gave them that name. The word also signifies a bench.

On this terrace the Ynca Manco Ccapac founded his palace,[1] which was afterwards the abode of Paullu, the son of Huayna Ccapac. I saw there a very large and spacious hall, which served as a place in which to celebrate solemn festivals on rainy days. This was the only one of these halls which was standing when I left Cuzco, for all the others, of which I shall speak presently, had been pulled down. Next, to the eastward, came the ward called CANTUT[2] PATA, which means "the terrace of pinks." They call certain pretty flowers which are something like the pinks in Spain, *cantut*. But they had no real pinks in that country, before the time of the Spaniards. The *cantut* is like a pink; but in its stalk, leaf, and prickles it is like the thorn tree (*cambronera*)[3] of Andalusia, and the bushes are very thick. By reason of there being very large *cantut* bushes in that ward (which I remember seeing) they gave it that name. Next, still following our eastern route, comes the ward called PUMA-CURCU, which means "the beam of the lions." *Puma* is a lion, and *curcu* a beam; because they fastened the lions, which were presented to the Ynca, to large beams in that ward until they were tame and fit to be removed to the place where they were permanently kept. Next comes a very large ward called TOCO-CACHI, but I do not know what this compound word may signify. For *toco* means a window, and *cachi* is salt for eating. In correct composition it would mean "the salt of the window," and I cannot understand

word for the Pleiades, according to Balboa, who is followed by Acosta.

[1] This is mythical. The style of architecture is not ancient, and that of the inner ruins is in the very latest style.

[2] *Periphragmos-uniflorus*, R. P. It is a phlox.

[3] *Cambronera*. Bramble or buck-thorn.

what is intended by it, unless it be some signification in its compound form, which I have not heard. In this ward the convent of the divine St. Francis was first established. Continuing our circuit a little southwards, we come to a ward called MUNAY-SENCA, which means "love the nose;" for *muna* is to love, and *senca* is a nose. I do not know why such a name was given; but it must refer to some incident or superstition, for they never give a name by chance. Next comes the great ward called RIMAC-PAMPA, which means the "square that speaks;" because some of the ordinances relating to the administration of affairs were promulgated there. The laws were thus proclaimed that the people might know and comply with the orders; and the name was given to the ward, because the square where the orders were proclaimed was in it. By this square the royal road passes, which leads to Colla-suyu. Beyond the ward of RIMAC-PAMPA, to the south of the city, is that of PUMAP-CHUPAN, which means "the tail of the lion." It is so-called because it ends in a point where the two streams unite. They also gave it that name, to show that it was the last of the city, which they desired to honour by calling it the tail or end of the lion. Besides this, they kept lions and other wild beasts in it. Some distance to the westwards of this ward there was a village of more than three hundred inhabitants called CAYAU-CACHI. This village was more than a thousand paces from the nearest houses in the city in the year 1560, but now, when I am writing, in the year 1602, it is (as I am told) within Cuzco, the houses of which have been extended so as to include it on all sides.

To the westward of the city, at a distance of another thousand paces, there was a ward called CHAQUILL-CHACA,[1] which means nothing as a compound word, but may have a special signification. Thence the royal road leads to Cunti-

[1] Probably "the dry bridge": *Chaqui*, "dry"; and *Chaca*, "a bridge".

suyu; and near the road there are two streams of very clear water, which are led underground, and the Indians do not know whence the water is brought; for it is a very ancient work, and the tradition of its construction is lost. They called these fountains COLLQUE-MACHACHUAY, which means "serpents of silver", because the water, in its whiteness, resembles silver, and the pipes in which it runs are like serpents, by reason of the turns they take on the ground. They also tell me that the city now extends as far as CHAQUILL-CHACA. Continuing the circuit, and turning to the north-west, we next come to another ward called PICHU; which was also outside the city. In front of this ward, continuing the same circuit, there is another ward called QUILLI-PATA; which was also outside the city. Further on, to the north of the city, was the great ward called CARMENCA, a proper name, and not a word in the general language. The royal road to Chincha-suyu passes through it. Turning now to the east, we arrive at the ward called HUACA-PUNCU, which means "the gate of the sanctuary." For *huaca*, as we have explained in its proper place, among many other meanings, signifies a temple or sanctuary. *Puncu* means a door. They gave this name to the ward, because the stream enters the city here, which flows through the middle of the principal square of Cuzco. By the side of the stream there is a very wide and long street. Both the stream and the street traverse the whole breadth of the city, and join the royal road of Colla-suyu at a distance of a league and a half beyond it. They called the place where they entered the city "the gate of the sanctuary," because, besides the wards dedicated to the temple of the Sun and the house of the chosen virgins, which were the principal sanctuaries, they held the whole of that city to be a sacred place, and it was one of their chief idols. For this reason they called this ward, where the street and the stream entered, the gate of the

sanctuary; and the point where the same street and stream left the city, was the "tail of the lion." This was as much as to say that the city was holy in its laws and false religion, and a lion in its deeds of arms. The ward of HUACA-PUNCU is next to that of COLLCAM-PATA, where we began the circuit of the wards of the city; so that the circuit is thus completed.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CITY CONTAINED AN EPITOME OF THE WHOLE EMPIRE.

The Yncas divided the city into wards, with reference to the four parts of their empire, called *Ttahuantin-suyu*, and this plan was commenced in the time of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac, who gave orders that the savages whom he brought into his service should settle in points having reference to the directions whence they came; those from the east in the eastern quarter; those from the west in the western; and so on. In accordance with this rule, the houses of the first vassals were built round the interior of that great circuit, and other new comers settled in quarters having reference to the directions of their provinces. The Curacas had their houses, where they resided when in attendance at court, each one in a direction pointing to their homes. Thus, in regarding these wards and the houses of so many and such diverse nations, the whole empire might be seen, as it were, in a looking-glass, or spread out as on a map. Cieza de Leon, in describing the city of Cuzco, makes the same remark in his ninety-third chapter, as follows:— "The city was full of strangers from all parts, Indians of Chile and Pasto, Cañaris, Chachapoyas, Huancas, Collas, and men of all the tribes in the provinces, and each living apart in the quarter assigned by the governors of the city.

They all retained the costumes of their fathers, and went about after the manner of their native land; and even when one hundred thousand men were assembled together, the country of each Indian was easily known by the peculiar head-dress which distinguished him." Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza.

The distinguishing marks were different kinds of head-dresses, each nation and province having one differing from the others. This was not an invention of the Yncas, but a custom of the different tribes, and the kings ordered that it should be continued, that one tribe and lineage might not be mistaken for another, there being a distance of more than thirteen hundred leagues, according to the same author, in his thirty-eighth chapter, between Pasto and Chile. Thus, in the great circuit of outer wards, there only lived the vassals of the whole empire, and not the Yncas and those of the blood royal. The above outer wards were the suburbs of that city, which we shall now proceed to describe street by street, from north to south, mentioning the inner wards and the great edifices, and the palaces of the kings, and stating to whom they fell, in the distribution made by the Spaniards after they conquered the city.

A stream,[1] containing little water, flows from the hill called Sacsahuaman, north and south to the last ward of the city, called Pumap-chupan. It divides the city from the suburbs. Within the city there is a street, now called the street of San Agustin, which takes the same direction from north to south; from the houses of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac to the square called Rimac-pampa. It is crossed by three or four streets running from east to west, and traversing the long space between that street and the stream.[2] In that wide and long space lived the Yncas of

[1] The Tullamayu, or Rodadero.

[2] Not the stream just referred to, but that mentioned before, as entering the city at the Huaca-puncu.

the blood royal, divided according to their *ayllus* or lineages. For, although they were all of the same lineage, as descendants of the King Manco Ccapac, yet they had their separate descents from such and such a king, saying that such an one was descended from this king, and such another from that king, and so on with all the rest. The Spanish historians are confused in this matter, when they say that such an Ynca founded one lineage, and another founded another named so and so, which would imply that these were different descents. In reality, they were all one, as the Indians give us to understand in calling them all *Ccapac Ayllu*, which means the same as "the august Lineage of the blood royal". They also called the men of blood royal by the name of Ynca, without any distinction, the word meaning a man of the blood royal. They called the women Palla, which is the same as a woman of the blood royal. In my time there lived in that space, commencing from the upper part of the street, Rodrigo de Pineda,[1] Juan de Saavedra,[2] Diego Ortiz de Guzman,[3] Pedro de los Rios,[4] and his brother Diego de los Rios, Hieronimo Costillas,[5] Gaspar Jara[6] (who

[1] Rodrigo de Pineda followed the rebel Giron from fear in 1553, and afterwards deserted him. Giron made him a Captain of Horse. Before Chuquinga he deserted to Alvarado, betraying the plans of the rebels.

[2] Juan de Saavedra came to Peru with Pedro Alvarado. He took a hundred and fifty men to Chile, under Almagro. He persuaded Almagro not to put Hernando Pizarro to death. He distinguished himself in the battle of Chupas. He was taken by Carbajal in Lima, and hanged from a tree near the city.

[3] Diego Ortiz de Guzman was in the battle of Chupas. Fernandez says he was robbed by Giron, in Cuzco.

[4] Pedro de los Rios was in the battle of Chupas, and at Huarina with Centeno, where he was killed. His brother *Diego* was in the battle of *Las Salinas*. He fled with Garcilasso, on the night of Giron's rising.

[5] Geronimo Costillas was with Almagro in Chile. He was a native of Zamora, of good family. He dissuaded Almagro from killing Hernando Pizarro. He went to the conquest of Huanuco. He fled from Gonzalo Pizarro to Arequipa and Lima, and was afterwards actively engaged in the campaign against Giron.

[6] Gaspar de Jara fled from Gonzalo Pizarro, to Lima.

had the site which is now covered by the monastery of the divine St. Augustine), Miguel Sanchez, Juan de Santa Cruz, Alonzo de Soto,[1] Gabriel Carreta, and Diego de Truxillo.[2] The latter cavalier was one of the first conquerors, and one of the thirteen comrades of Pizarro who stood by him. Then there were, further down the street, the houses of Anton Ruiz de Guevara, Juan de Salas[3] (a brother of the Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General), Valdez de Salan, besides others, whose names I do not remember. They were all lords of vassals, and held *repartimientos* of Indians, and were among the second conquerors of Peru. Besides the above, many Spaniards lived in that street, who had no Indians. On the site of one of these houses, the monastery of the divine St. Augustine was founded, after I left the city. We call the first conquerors those hundred and sixty Spaniards who accompanied Francisco Pizarro when he imprisoned Atahualpa, and the second conquerors are those who arrived with Don Diego de Almagro, and with Don Pedro de Alvarado, who came almost together. To these, and no others, we give the name of conquerors of Peru, and the second honoured the first, although some were of less importance and quality than the second comers; but they were respected because they were the first.

Returning to the top of the street of St. Augustine, to enter further into the city, we come to the convent of Santa Clara. These buildings first belonged to Alonzo Diaz,[4] son-

[1] Alonzo de Soto distinguished himself in the battle of Chupas. He fled to Lima, from Gonzalo Pizarro.

[2] Diego de Truxillo was one of Pizarro's thirteen companions. He captured Almagro in Cuzco, and distinguished himself at Chupas. He fled from Gonzalo Pizarro to Lima. Zarate calls him Alonzo de Truxillo. He was alive in 1560, when Garcilasso left Cuzco.

[3] Juan de Salas was at the battle of Chupas, and with Alvarado in the campaign against Giron.

[4] Alonzo Diaz was a son-in-law of Pedrarias. He joined Giron, and being pardoned by the judges, returned to Cuzco. But the Marquis of Cañete confiscated his property, and put him to death.

in-law of the Governor Pedro Arias de Avila. On the right-hand side of the convent there are many houses of Spaniards, among them those of Francisco de Barrientos,[1] which afterwards belonged to Juan de Alvarez Maldonado. To the right of these are the houses of Hernando Bachicao,[2] and next to them came the house of Juan Alonzo Palomino.[3] In front of these houses, to the south, is the Episcopal palace, on the site of the former dwelling of Juan Balsa,[4] which afterwards belonged to Francisco de Villacastin. Then comes the cathedral church, which faces the principal square. In the time of the Yncas the site was occupied by a beautiful hall, in which the festivals were celebrated in rainy weather; and by the palace of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. In my time there was nothing left but the hall. When the Spaniards first entered the city, they all lodged in this hall, so as to be ready for anything that might happen. I remember it when it was roofed with straw, and saw it afterwards covered with tiles. To the north of the cathedral, there are many houses with arcades, facing the principal square, which served as quarters for officers. To the south of the cathedral were the shops of the most wealthy merchants.

At the back of the cathedral are the houses which belonged to Juan de Berio; and others, the names of whose owners I do not remember.

At the back of the principal shops are the houses formerly belonging to Diego Maldonado, who was surnamed the

[1] Francisco de Barrientos was killed by Giron's people in the Abancay valley, at the battle of Chuquinca.

[2] Hernando Bachicao was with Gonzalo Pizarro in rebellion against the Viceroy, but deserted to Centeno, and was hung by Carbajal at Juli.

[3] Juan Alonzo Palomino was in the battle of Chupas, with Vaca de Castro. He joined Gasca, and served as Captain of Infantry in the battle of Sacsahuana. He received a large *repartimiento*. He was assassinated in Cuzco when Giron rebelled.

[4] Juan Balsa, General of Almagro, the younger. He was slain by the Indians after the battle of Chupas.

rich because he was more wealthy than any other man in Peru. He was one of the first conquerors. In the time of the Yncas this site was called HATUN-CANCHA, which means the great enclosure. Here was the palace of one of the kings called Ynca Yupanqui. To the south of the residence of Diego Maldonado, in the same street, were those formerly belonging to Francisco Hernandez Giron.[1] Beyond these is the house formerly resided in by Antonio Altamirano,[2] one of the first conquerors, and those of Francisco de Trias, Sebastian de Caçalla, and many others. This ward is called PUCA MARCA, which means "the red ward". It was the site of the palace of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. Further to the south there is another very large ward, the name of which I do not remember,[3] in which were the houses of Alonzo de Loaysa,[4] Martin de Meneses,[5] Juan de Figueroa,[6] Don Pedro Puertocarrero,[7] Garcia de Melo,[8]

[1] The famous rebel.

[2] Antonio Altamirano of Estremadura. He protested against Almagro seizing Cuzco. A jar of gold and many vases, worth eighty thousand ducats, were found in his part of the Amaru-cancha. He was beheaded by Carbajal because he seemed lukewarm in the cause of Gonzalo Pizarro. His son was a schoolfellow of our author.

[3] The Pampa Maroni.

[4] Alonzo de Loaysa, a native of Truxillo, was wounded at the battle of Las Salinas in the jaw, by a bullet. He was father of Francisco de Loaysa, one of the few sons of the conquerors who enjoyed the *repartimientos* of their fathers. He fled from Gonzalo Pizarro to Lima. In 1553 he married Dona Maria de Castilla, daughter of Leonora de Bobadilla and Nuna Tobar, a Knight of Badajos. On the night of the wedding Giron's rising took place. Loaysa was a nephew of the Archbishop of Lima. He advised Alvarado not to engage Giron at the battle of Chuquinga.

[5] Martin de Meneses was in the battle or Chupas. He fled from Gonzalo Pizarro to Lima, and was with Alvarado in the campaign against Giron.

[6] Juan de Figueroa went with Gonzalo Pizarro to the conquest of Charcas. His house was next to that of the wedding, at the rising of Giron. Many escaped by passing through it.

[7] Pedro Puertocarrero was at Chupas. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro, and carried the standard before him, on entering Lima.

[8] Garcia de Melo lost his right hand in the battle of Chupas. He was with Alvarado in the campaign against Giron.

Francisco Delgado, and of many other lords of vassals, whose names have escaped my memory. Beyond this ward, still to the south, was the square called YNTIP-PAMPA, which means "the square of the Sun"; to which place those who were not Yncas were allowed to come with their offerings; not being permitted to enter the temple itself. There the priests received the offerings, and presented them to the image of the Sun, which they worshipped as a God. The ward in which the temple of the Sun stood was called the CCURI-CANCHA, which means "the golden ward"; for, as we have explained in another place, there were gold, silver, and precious stones in this ward.[1] Then comes the ward called PUMAP-CHUPAN, which is outside, in the suburbs of the city.

CHAPTER X.

THE SITE OF THE SCHOOLS, AND THOSE OF THREE PALACES, AND OF THE HOUSE OF CHOSEN VIRGINS.

In order to enumerate the remaining wards, it will be convenient to return to the HUACA-PUNCU ward, which means "the gate of the sanctuary", and is to the north of the principal square of the city. To the south of it there is another very large ward, the name of which has escaped my memory. We may call it "the ward of the schools"; for in it were the schools founded by the King Ynca Rocca, as we have explained in another place. In the Indian language they call the schools YACHA-HUASI, which means "the house of teaching". Here lived the wise men and masters of that commonwealth, called Amautas or philosophers, and the Haravecs or poets. They were much esteemed by Yncas and by all the people. Many disciples lived with them, chiefly of the blood

[1] See i, p. 270.

royal. South of the ward of the schools, there are two wards where there were two royal palaces, which were in front of the principal square. They occupied the whole front of the square. The palace to the east was called CORA-CORA, which means "the pastures". For, in ancient times, the site was a great pasture, and the square in front of it was a swamp or morass; but the Yncas ordered them to be arranged as they now appear. Pedro de Cieza says the same thing in his ninety-second chapter. In this pasture the King Ynca Rocca founded his palace, to be near the school, to which he often went to hear the masters.[1] No one occupied the CORA-CORA house in my time, because it was in ruins. When they divided the city, it fell to the share of Gonzalo Pizarro, brother of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, who was one of those that captured it. I knew this cavalier in Cuzco, after the battle of Huarina, and before that of Sacsahuana; and he treated me as his own son. I was then eight or nine years of age. The other palace, to the west of CORA-CORA was called CASSANA, which means "the house for freezing". They gave it this name out of admiration, being as much as to say that the edifices were so grand and beautiful as to freeze and astonish any one who attentively gazed upon them. They formed the palace of the great Ynca Pachacutec, great-grandson of the Ynca Rocca; who, to favour the schools which his great-grandfather had founded, ordered his palace to be erected near them. These two palaces had the schools at their backs; and they were connected together, without an interval. The schools had their principal doors towards the street and the stream; and the kings went in by a private entrance to hear the lectures of the philosophers. The Ynca Pachacutec often lectured himself, declaring his laws and statutes; for he was a great legislator.

[1] Modern tradition assigns the Cyclopean wall in the Calle del Triunfo to Ynca Rocca. This shows how utterly worthless all such traditions are. Garcilasso does not mention that remarkable Cyclopean ruin.

In my time the Spaniards opened a street which divided the schools from the palace called CASSANA. I saw the walls, which were of masonry beautifully cut, showing that they had belonged to royal dwellings. Here was also a most splendid hall, which, in the time of the Yncas, was used for the celebration of the festivals in rainy weather. It was so large that sixty men on horseback might easily play the *jireed* in it. I saw the convent of San Francisco established in this hall, to which it was removed from the TOCA-CACHI suburb, where the distance was inconveniently great from the part inhabited by the Spaniards. A great space in the hall, capable of holding many people, was set apart for the church. Then there were the sleeping cells, the dormitory, and the offices of the monastery, and, if the hall had not been roofed, there might also have been a cloister. Juan de Pancorvo gave this hall to the friars. He was one of the first conquerors, to whom this palace fell in the distribution that was made of the houses. Many other Spaniards held portions of it, but Juan de Pancorvo bought up all the other shares. A few years afterwards the monastery was removed to the site where it now stands, as we shall mention in another place, treating of the grant made by the citizens to the friars, for the purchase of a site and for the work of the church. I also saw the hall pulled down, and the shops, with their arcades, erected in the CASSANA ward, as they now stand, being the abodes of merchants and officials.

In front of these royal palaces was the principal square of the city, called HUACAY-PATA, which means "the terrace or square for enjoyment and delight." From north to south it is about two hundred paces or four hundred feet; and from east to west, as far as the stream, one hundred and fifty paces. At the south end of the square there were other palaces. The buildings near the stream were called "AMARU-CANCHA," which means "the ward of the great serpents."

They faced the CASSANA, and formed the palace of Huayna Ccapac. They now belong to the Holy Company of Jesus. I remember, among these buildings, a great hall, though not so large as that at the Cassana. I also remember a very beautiful round tower, which stood in the square in front of the building. In another place we shall again refer to this tower, which, having been the first lodging that the Spaniards had in that city, (besides its great beauty) should have been maintained intact by those who gained it. There was no other part of this palace standing in my time; all the rest had been pulled down.[1] In the first distribution, the chief part of this palace, facing the square, fell to the lot of Hernando Pizarro, brother of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, who was also among the first gainers of this city. I saw this cavalier in the Court of Madrid in 1562. Another portion fell to Marcio Serra de Leguiçamo, one of the first conquerors. Another came to Antonio Altamirano, two of whose houses I can remember; but he must have bought one of them. Another portion was used as a prison for Spaniards. Another part was given to Alonzo Maçuela, one of the first conquerors, and it afterwards belonged to Martin Dolmos. Other parts fell to different people, whom I do not remember. To the east of the AMARU-CANCHA, with the street of the Sun traversing it, is the ward called ACLLA-HUASI, which means "the house of chosen ones," where was the convent of virgins dedicated to the Sun, of whom we have already given a full account. Respecting their dwelling, it remains to say that part of the edifice fell to the lot of

[1] See Part II, lib. iii, cap. 24. When Manco Ynca besieged the Spaniards in Cuzco, the Indians fired arrows into the town, bound round with burning tinder. They fired at all the houses except the temple of the Sun, the house of the chosen virgins, and the halls of the COLLCAM-PATA, the CASSANA, and the AMARU-CANCHA, as well as the beautiful round tower in front of the latter edifice. They set fire to the great hall in the palace of Uira-ccocha, because Hernando Pizarro and his Spaniards had established their quarters there.

Francisco Mejia, being that part towards the square, which has also been occupied by shops of tradesmen. Another part fell to Pedro del Barco, another to the Licentiate de la Gama.

All the buildings we have mentioned are to the east of the stream[1] which passes by the principal square. It must be understood that the Yncas had those three great halls facing the square, in order to celebrate the festivals even if it should rain on the appointed days, which were on the new moons of each month, and at the time of the solstices. In the general rising of the Indians against the Spaniards, when they set fire to all that city, they respected these three halls, out of the four I have mentioned, namely, those of the COLLCAMPATA, CASSANA, AMARU-CANCHA, but over the fourth, which was the lodging of the Spaniards and is now the cathedral church, they sent innumerable burning arrows, and the straw was set on fire in more than twenty places, destroying the thatch, as we shall relate in its place. But God did not permit that the hall should be destroyed on that night, nor on many other days and nights. By these miracles, and many similar ones which were wrought by the Lord, that his Catholic faith might enter that empire, it was acquired by the Spaniards. The Indians also respected the temple of the Sun and the house of chosen virgins. All the other buildings were set on fire, that the Spaniards might be burnt.

[1] Called the *Huatanay;* from *Huata*, "a year"; and *Ananay*, an expression of weariness; at the yearly necessity of having to repair its banks.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE WARDS AND HOUSES TO THE WEST OF THE STREAM.

All the palaces and houses of which we have hitherto spoken were to the east of the stream that flows through the centre of the city. To the west of the stream is the square which was called CUSI-PATA, or "the terrace or square of delight." In the time of the Yncas these two squares were one, the whole stream being covered with stout beams, with large flag-stones placed over them. For so many lords of vassals assembled on the great feast days, that the square we call the principal one would not hold them. They covered the stream with beams, because they did not know how to make arches. The Spaniards used the beams for other purposes, and only left four bridges of wood, which I can remember. Afterwards three stone arches were built, and they were there when I left the city. The two squares were not divided in my time, nor were there houses on either side of the stream, as is now the case. In the year 1555, my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega being Corregidor, they built them and granted them to the natives of the city; for the fallen place, once the empress of all that great empire, had not then a *maravedi* of rent. No royal palaces had been built to the west of the stream, where there was only the circuit of suburbs which we have described. This site was reserved for the palaces of future kings; for, although it is true that those of their ancestors would belong to them, yet it was the custom to build new ones for themselves, to enhance their greatness and majesty. Thus the palaces, and all the other edifices built by a king, retained his name; so that the names of the kings, and their special works, were not lost. The Spaniards built houses on this site, and we shall now mention them, taking the route from north to

south, and specifying whose they were when I left the city.

Descending the stream from the entrance called HUACAPUNCU, the first houses belonged to Pedro de Orue.[1] Then followed those of Juan de Pancorvo, in which Alonzo de Marchena also lived. For, though Alonzo had a grant of Indians of his own, yet Juan de Pancorvo did not wish that he should live in another house, owing to the great and ancient friendship they always had for each other. Following the same street, there are next the houses of Hernan Bravo de Laguna,[2] which previously belonged to Antonio Navarro and Lope Martin, who were among the first conquerors. There were other residents who, being Spaniards without grants of Indians, I do not name. The same must be understood respecting the other wards, for any other method would lead me into intolerable prolixity. Next to the residence of Hernan Bravo was that of Alonzo de Hinojosa,[3] which was formerly the house of the Licentiate

[1] Pedro Ortiz de Orue was one of the first conquerors, and received the village of Maras in *repartimiento*. The only thing recorded of him is, that he fled from Cuzco to Lima, when Giron rose in rebellion in 1553. He was a native of Biscay. He married Doña Maria Tupac Usca, daughter of Manco Ynca. By this Ynca princess he had a daughter Catalina, wife of Don Luis Justiniani, a native of Seville, but descended from the noble Genoese family. Their son was Luis; their grandson Nicolo; their great-grandson Dr. Justo Pastor Justiniani, a surgeon of Cuzco, who married Manuela Simanca Cataño, a descendant of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. The children of this match, who were of Ynca blood both on the father's and mother's side, were Pablo Pelicarpo, and three daughters. The son became a priest, and cura of Laris, a village in the mountains east of Cuzco; where he died at a great age, in 1858. He was my very good friend; and, when I passed a pleasant and most instructive fortnight with him, he gave me a copy of the drama of Ollantay, and of many ancient Quichua songs.

[2] Hernan Bravo de Laguna was seized by Gonzalo Pizarro, but pardoned. He escaped to Gasca, who gave him but a small *repartimiento*.

[3] Alonzo de Hinojosa was at the battle of Chupas. He joined Centeno, and escaped from Huarina to Lima. He was godfather to Sayri Tupac.

Carbajal, brother of the Factor Yllan Suarez Carbajal, who is mentioned in the histories of Peru. Continuing the same course from north to south, the street then leads into the CUSI-PATA, now known as "the square of our Lady of Mercy;" where, in my time, the Indian men and women were established who set up places for trading, and where, in their misery, they bartered one thing for another. For, in those days, they had no coined money, nor was there any coined for twenty years afterwards. The place was like a market or fair, which the Indians call *catu*. To the south of the square is the convent of our Lady of Mercy, which covers a whole ward, bounded by four streets. Behind it there was another street of houses of citizens holding Indians, but I do not name them because I cannot remember who they were. At that time the buildings did not extend further in that direction.

Returning to the ward called CARMENCA, to descend by another street, the nearest to CARMENCA are the houses of Diego de Silva,[1] who was my godfather, son of the famous Feliciano de Silva. Next, going south, were those of Pedro Lopez de Caçalla, formerly Secretary to the President Gasca, and those of Juan de Betanzos,[2] and many others on either side, whose owners did not possess Indians. Further on were the houses formerly belonging to Alonzo de Mesa, one of the first conquerors, which were at the corner of the square of our Lady. There were many others at the sides of the square, which I shall not particularly mention. The house to the south of that belonging to Alonzo de Mesa belonged to my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega. It had a long narrow corridor or balcony over the principal entrance, where the

[1] Diego de Silva, son of Feliciano de Silva, Alcalde of Cuzco, was godfather of Garcilasso. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro, but escaped. He afterwards joined Giron, from fear, and deserted, and was wounded in battle with Giron.

[2] Juan de Betanços was sent to take Sayri Tupac out of the montaña, but returned to Cuzco.

principal lords of the city assembled to witness the bull-fights and cane tournaments, which took place in that square. Before my father had the house, it belonged to a noble gentleman, one of the first conquerors, named Francisco de Oñate, who fell in the battle of Chupas. From that balcony, and from other parts of the city, a peak of the snowy mountains may be seen, like a pyramid, which is so lofty that, though it is twenty-five leagues distant, and other mountains intervene, it is visible from this point. It does not appear as a mass of rock, but as a point of pure and perpetual snow, without ever melting. They call it *Villca-ñuta,* which means "a sacred or wonderful thing." For they only give this name *Villca* to things that are worthy of admiration, and certainly that peak is above all things most wonderful. I appeal to those who have seen it, or who may hereafter see it. To the west of my father's house, was that of Vasco de Guevara,[1] one of the second conquerors; and it was afterwards the residence of Doña Beatriz, daughter of Huayna Ccapac. To the south were the houses of Antonio de Quiñones, which also faced the square of our Lady. To the south of those of Antonio de Quiñones were the houses of Tomas Vasquez, one of the first conquerors. In front of them was the residence of Alonzo de Toro, formerly Lieutenant-General to Gonzalo Pizarro. His father-in-law, Diego Gonzales, killed him, out of sheer alarm, owing to certain matrimonial quarrels. To the west of the houses of Tomas Vasquez were those of Don Pedro Luis de Cabrera, where Rodrigo de Esquivel afterwards lived. To the south of the houses of Tomas Vasquez were those of Don Antonio Pereira, son of Lope Martin Portuguès. Then came the residence of Pedro Alonzo Carrasco, one of the first conquerors. To the south of the house of Carrasco there were other small dwellings of no consequence, which were the last in that

[1] Vasco de Guevara dissuaded Almagro from putting H. Pizarro to death. He married his daughter to Juan de Escobar.

ward. The ward was formed in the year 1557 and 1558. Returning to the skirts of the hill of Carmenca, to the west of the houses of Diego de Silva, there was a house belonging to Francisco de Villafuerte, one of the first conquerors, and one of the thirteen companions of Francisco Pizarro.[2] To the south of this house there was a very long and broad terrace, with no houses built upon it; and still further to the south there was another very beautiful site, where the monastery of the divine St. Francis stands. In front of the monastery there is a very large square, to the south of which are the houses of Juan Julio, de Hojeda, one of the first conquerors, and father of Don Gomez de Tordoya, who is still alive. To the west of the residence of Don Gomez were the houses formerly belonging to Martin de Arbieto which, in the year 1560, were the last in that direction. To the west of the houses of Martin de Arbieto there is a very large plain, which was used in my time for exercising horses. At the end of the plain they erected that rich and famous hospital for Indians, which was founded in the year 1555 or 1556. The inhabited part of the city was then as I have described it, and any additional buildings have been erected since my time. The cavaliers whose names I have mentioned in this discourse were all very noble in blood, and famous in arms, for did they not gain that most rich empire. I knew nearly all of them; and of those I have named there were not ten with whom I was not acquainted.

[1] His name does not appear in any of the lists.

CHAPTER XII.

OF TWO GRANTS MADE BY THE CITY FOR PIOUS PURPOSES.

Before treating of the foundation of that hospital, and of the first charitable grant that was made for it, it will be as well to mention another grant which the citizens of Cuzco made to the monks of the divine St. Francis to pay for the site and the building of a church, because the one followed the other, at the time that Garcilasso de la Vega, my lord, was Corregidor. It happened that, when the monastery was in the Cassana, as we have already mentioned, the friars, I know not on what grounds, made a demand upon Juan Rodriguez de Villalobos, whose land it was, and to whom the building belonged; and they submitted a letter to the Chancellery of Lima, that they might be put into full possession of the site, paying Villalobos the sum that those two terraces might be valued at, and the price of the building. The whole was valued at 22,200 ducats. The head of the Franciscans was then a monk named Fray Juan Gallegos, a man of holy life, and who set an excellent example. This friar made the payment in bars of silver at my father's house, and my father granted possession. Those present expressed astonishment that a few poor friars should be able to make so large and exact a payment in so short a time; for the period for payment was limited. The friar replied: "Gentlemen, do not marvel at this, for it is the work of Heaven and of the great charity of this city, which God preserve. I certify to you, that you may know how great this charity is, that on the Monday of the week in which we now are, we had not three hundred ducats for this payment, and to-day, which is Thursday, in the morning I found myself with the sum you see before you. For, during two nights, it was collected in secret, as well by citizens who

hold Indians, as by soldiers who have none. They brought their offering in such quantities that I dismissed many, when I saw that there was sufficient. I also tell you that we have had no sleep during the last two nights, from answering the porter's knocks." All this the good friar said of the bounty of that city, and I heard him.

With regard to the hospital, it must be known that this friar was succeeded by another named Fray Antonio de San Miguel, of a very noble family of that name in Salamanca, a great theologian, and a true son of St. Francis in life and doctrine; owing to which he was afterwards Bishop of Chile, where he lived in his former sanctity. This holy man, in the second year of his term of office, preached on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays in Lent in the cathedal church of Cuzco. On one of these Sundays he suggested that it would be a good thing for the city to establish a hospital for Indians; and that the municipality should be patron, as it was of the hospital for Spaniards. He proposed that the house should be founded so that the Spaniards, whether conquerors or not, might fulfil their obligations, a duty from which none could escape. He continued to urge this point in his sermons during the week, and on the next Sunday he concluded, urging the city to grant this charity, and saying: "Gentlemen, the Corregidor and I will go forth at one this afternoon to seek this boon for the love of God. Show yourselves as resolute and bountiful for it, as you were strong and energetic in conquering this empire." That afternoon the two went forth, and wrote down what each citizen directed them. They went from house to house of those who held Indians, and on that day they did not ask money from any others. At night my father returned to his own house, and told me to add up the sums entered on his paper, to see the amount of the charitable gift. I found the total to be 28,500 dollars, equal to 34,200 ducats. The smallest subscription was 600 ducats, and some reached to

1,000 dollars. This was the quantity collected that afternoon, within five hours. On other days people were applied to, whether citizens or not, and all replied largely to the applications, so that, in a few months, more than 100,000 ducats had been collected. As soon as the intention of founding a hospital for natives was known throughout the country, many subscriptions were received during the year, as well as bequests by will. So the work was commenced, and the Indians within the jurisdiction of the city assembled promptly, knowing that it was for their benefit.

Garcilasso de la Vega, my lord, placed a doubloon of gold of those they called "*de dos caras*," which have the effigies of Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, under the first stone of the edifice, as Corregidor. He placed it there as a scarce and wonderful thing that in that land there should then be gold coin, and none of any other metal. For no money was then coined, and the custom of the Spanish tradesmen was to bring merchandize for the sake of the profit, and no money, either gold or silver. Some person, who was curious in such matters, may have brought that doubloon, as being Spanish money, just as he would bring anything else because it was not to be found there; and he may have given it to my father, on that occasion, as a curious thing. For I did not know whence it came, nor did any one else who saw it on that day. It was passed from one hand to the other, by the whole municipality of Cuzco, and many other gentlemen who were present at the ceremony of laying the first stone; and they all said it was the first coined money they had seen in that land, and that, for its rarity, it was very suitably used in the ceremony. Diego Maldonado, called the rich, a native of Salamanca, as the oldest Regidor, put in a plate of silver with his arms engraved upon it. These trifles were placed as a foundation for that rich edifice. The Supreme Pontiffs have since granted many indulgences and

pardons to those who die in the house.[1] A woman of the blood royal, whom I knew, having heard this, and feeling herself to be near her end, requested that she might be taken to the hospital to be cured, though she was well enough off, to be treated in her own house. She was, therefore, told that she could not be taken to the hospital, as it would be an affront to her; but she replied that she no longer hoped that her body would be cured, and that her need was not in that. She added, that what she desired was, that her soul might be cured by the indulgences and graces which the Princes of the Church had granted to those who died in that hospital. So she was taken there, and, as she did not wish to be put into the infirmary, her bed was placed in a corner of the hospital church. She requested that a grave might be opened near her bed, and asked to be interred in the habit of St. Francis. The habit was hung over her bed, and she also had the wax, to be expended at her funeral, placed near her. She then received the most holy sacrament and extreme unction. She remained for four days, calling on God, on the Virgin Mary, and on the whole Heavenly Host, and then she died. The city, hearing that an Indian woman had died so religiously, desired to celebrate the occasion by doing honour to her obsequies, that the rest of the Indians might be led to imitate so good an example. So both the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries attended the funeral, as well as many other noble persons, and they buried her with solemnity, insomuch that her relations and the other Indians considered themselves much favoured and honoured. It will now be well to relate the life and acts of the tenth king, in which will be seen things worthy of admiration.

[1] The chaplain of the hospital for natives of the city of Cuzco wrote a curious account of the superstitions and rites of the Yncas, addressed to the Bishop, Don Sebastian de Artaum.—MS. in the Library at Madrid (B. 35).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW CONQUEST THAT THE KING YNCA YUPANQUI UNDERTOOK.

The good Ynca Yupanqui having assumed the crimson fringe, and thus performed the usual solemnities on his entering into possession of the empire, as well as those connected with the obsequies of his father, desired that, to show himself to be bountiful and affable, his first act should be the visiting of his provinces and kingdoms. For, as has already been said, this was the greatest favour the Yncas could show to their subjects. One of their vain beliefs was, that these their kings were gods and children of the Sun, and not human men; so that they held it to be a great blessing to receive them in their own lands and homes. For this purpose the Ynca set out to visit his dominions, and was received and adored in accordance with the creed of the people. The Ynca Yupanqui spent more than three years in this journey, and, having returned and rested, he consulted with his council on undertaking some difficult and valiant enterprise. It was decided to make an expedition towards the country of the Antis, to the east of Cuzco; for in that direction the boundary of the empire touched the great chain of the snowy mountains. The Ynca resolved to cross them, and to invade the country on the other side, by descending some of the rivers that flow to the eastward. For it is impossible to cross the range by the high peaks, owing to the quantity of snow that lies there, which is constantly falling.

The Ynca Yupanqui desired to conquer the nations in that direction, in order to reduce them to a state of vassallage, and to deliver them from their own barbarous and inhuman customs, by bringing them to a knowledge of his father the Sun, that they might worship him as God, as

the other nations had done that the Yncas had conquered. The Ynca conceived this desire, owing to a tradition handed down by his ancestors, that in those vast regions there were many inhabited provinces; and others without any population, owing to the dense forests, lakes, swamps, and morasses, which rendered them uninhabitable.

He also had intelligence that, among the inhabited parts, one of the largest was called Musu, which the Spaniards have corrupted into Moxos. It was said that it might be entered by a great river which, in the country of the Antis to the east of the city of Cuzco, is composed of many rivers finally uniting into one. There are five principal streams with separate names, besides a vast number of brooks. The whole unite to form a mighty river called Amaru-mayu. It is not known at what point this river falls into the northern sea. But from its size and its eastern course, it is suspected to be one of those which, uniting with many others, forms the river called La Plata. The latter river is so named because, when the Spaniards, who discovered it, asked the natives on the coast if they had any silver in that province, they replied that they had none, but that there was plenty towards the sources of their great river. From these words they deduced the name which the river now bears of "Rio de la Plata", though there is no silver there. Of all the famous rivers in the world it holds the second place, allowing that the first is due to the river Orellana.

In the language of the natives, the Rio de la Plata is called *Parahuay*. If this word belongs to the general language of Peru, it means "Let me rain". It may be interpreted, in a phrase of the same language, as the river, flowing from its wonderful sources, being supposed to say "Let me rain, and you shall see wonders". For, as has already been explained, it is an idiom of this language to indicate, in one significant word, the meaning which it is intended to convey. If the word *Parahuay* belongs to another language than that of Peru, I do not know what it means.

As soon as the five streams unite, they lose their special names, and the united stream is known as the Amaru-mayu. *Mayu* means a river, and they call those enormous serpents *Amaru*, which are met with in the forests of that land. They gave the river this name by way of pre-eminence, giving to understand that it is as great among rivers as the *Amaru* is among snakes.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EVENTS OF THE EXPEDITION TO MUSU UNTIL IT WAS CONCLUDED.

The King Ynca Yupanqui resolved to penetrate down this river, although it was so large, and up to that time so little known. For it was impossible to reach the Musu province by land, owing to the forests, lakes, and extensive morasses in that direction. With this object, he ordered a great quantity of timber to be cut, of a tree which the Spaniards call *higuera;* but I do no know the native name. It is not so called because it bears figs, but because it is as light as the wood of the fig tree.

It took them nearly two years to cut the wood, dress it, and build their canoes. They made enough to hold ten thousand warriors, besides their supplies of provisions. The general, masters of the camp, and other officers were nominated, all being Yncas of the blood royal, and the army, embarked in the canoes, each holding from thirty to fifty men, more or less. The food was carried in the centre of each canoe on tables, half a yard high, that it might not get wet. Thus the Yncas descended the river, where they had fierce encounters and fought great battles with the natives, called Chunchus, who lived on both sides

of the river. They came out in great numbers, both on the water and the shore, as well to defend the landing, as to fight with the canoes on the water. Their offensive arms were bows and arrows, which are the usual arms among the nations of the Antis. Their bodies, arms, and legs, and faces were painted in different colours, and as the climate of that country is very hot, they went almost naked, but wore great plumes on their heads, composed of the feathers of macaws and parrots.

After many encounters and much negociation, they were reduced to obedience, and the nations on both banks of that great river, in token of service, sent many presents to the King Ynca Yupanqui. The presents consisted of macaws, monkeys, honey, wax, and other products of their country. These presents were sent until the death of Tupac Amaru, who was the last of the Yncas, and whose head was cut off by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo. A village near the Tono, and twenty-six leagues from Cuzco, was peopled by the Indians who brought the presents, and by others who joined them afterwards. They requested permission from the Ynca to settle there, that they might be nearer his service, and there they have remained to this day. Having reduced the Chunchus on both banks of the river to the service of the Ynca, the army passed onwards and subdued many other nations until they reached the province called Musu, which was inhabited by a numerous and warlike tribe. It was fertile, and was said to be two hundred leagues from the city of Cuzco.

The Yncas say that when their army arrived, it was much reduced, owing to the many battles in which it had been engaged on the road. But, in spite of this, the Yncas boldly urged the Musus to submit to the service of their king, who was a child of the Sun, and had been sent from Heaven by his Father to teach men to live like men and not like beasts, and to worship the Sun as God, abandoning the

worship of stones, sticks, and other vile things. Seeing that the Musus were willing to listen, the Yncas gave them a long account of their laws and customs, and recounted the deeds of their kings and their former conquests. They told them how many provinces had been subdued, and how many had submitted of their own accord, beseeching the Yncas to receive them as vassals. They say that they particularly described the dream of the Ynca Uira-cocha and his deeds. The Musus were so much astonished at these things, that they consented to enter into friendship with the Yncas, and to embrace their religion, laws, and customs, which seemed good; and they promised to be guided by them and to worship the Sun. But they did not like acknowledging themselves to be vassals of the Ynca, because they had not been conquered by force of arms. They agreed to be their friends, and to do all that was required for the service of the Ynca out of friendship, but not as vassals; for they desired to be free, as their fathers had been before them. Owing to this friendship, the Musus allowed the Yncas to settle in their country, but there were little more than a thousand survivors. The rest had died, owing to the wars and the hardships of the road. The Musus gave them their daughters as wives, and were rejoiced at the relationship. They still hold them in great veneration, and are governed by them in peace and war. As soon as this friendly agreement and union was made, they sent their noblest chiefs as ambassadors to Cuzco, to worship the Ynca as a child of the Sun, and to confirm the friendship and relationship that had been formed with his people. But, by reason of the badness and ruggedness of the road through forests and swamps, the ambassadors made a very great circuit to reach Cuzco. The Ynca received them with much kindness, and showed them great favour. He ordered that they should be given full instructions touching the laws, customs, and religion, with which the Musus returned to their country; and this friendship lasted until the arrival of the Spaniards.

The Yncas say, especially, that in the time of Huayna Ccapac the descendants of the Yncas who settled in Musu, wanted to return to Cuzco; because it seemed to them that, there being no further service to perform for the Ynca, they would be better in their native country than out of it. When they were ready to set out for Cuzco, with their wives and children, they received news that Huayna Ccapac was dead, and that the Spaniards had seized the country and destroyed the empire of the Yncas. So they resolved to remain where they were, and the Musus, as we have said, treat them with great respect, and are guided by them in peace and war. It is also said that, in the Musu country, the river is six leagues wide, and that it takes two days to cross it in their canoes.[1]

[1] These two chapters should be compared with chapters xvi and xvii Book IV (i, p. 329). The river Amaru-mayu, the Madre de Dios of the Spaniards, is clearly described as flowing into the country of the Moxos, or, in other words, as being a tributary of the Beni. In this the Ynca is quite correct.

Yet modern Peruvians chose to assume that the Madre de Dios was a tributary of the Purus; and the same conjecture was adopted by the late Admiral Washington in 1836, in a note to General Miller's paper, describing his expedition to the Madre de Dios in 1835 (*R. G. S. Journal*, vi, p. 184). Guided by these authorities, I was fully under the impression that I was exploring the sources of the Purus, when I penetrated to the Madre de Dios in 1853 (see *Cuzco and Lima*, p. 265, and *R. G. S. Journal*, xxv, p. 151); and I remained under that impression for many years. See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, chapter xlv, and the note at p. 339, in which the question is discussed by Mr. Spruce.

In 1865, however, the year after my translation of *Cieza de Leon* was printed, Mr. Chandless made that thorough exploration of the Purus, by which he nobly earned the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and proved that the Madre de Dios did not flow into the Purus. He then expressed an opinion that the Madre de Dios was one of the sources of the Beni (*R. G. S. Journal*, xxxvi, p. 114). Garcilasso de la Vega had stated this as a fact two hundred and sixty years before.

An enterprising Peruvian, named Faustino Maldonado, had already, in 1861, solved the problem, and confirmed the accuracy of Garcilasso, although we never received the intelligence of his discovery until 1867. He embarked in a canoe on the Madre de Dios, and was drowned in a

CHAPTER XV.

VESTIGES WHICH HAVE BEEN FOUND OF THAT EXPEDITION.

All that I have briefly related, touching that conquest and discovery which the King Ynca Yupanqui ordered to be undertaken by following the course of the river, is related in great detail by the Yncas, when they celebrate the prowess of their ancestors. They speak of the great battles which took place in the river and beyond it, of the numerous provinces that were subjugated, and of the great deeds that were performed. But I, thinking that some of these stories were incredible, by reason of the small number of people in those parts, and considering also that the Spaniards did not now possess those lands which were conquered by the Yncas among the Antis, so that I cannot point them out with my finger, as is the case with every place that has hitherto been mentioned, have decided not to mix up fables with true history. To this day the knowledge of that part of the country is not so correct as that of the provinces which we occupy; although it is true that the Spaniards, in these times, have met with extensive vestiges of the expedition of Yupanqui, as we shall frequently see.

In the year 1564 a Spaniard named Diego Aleman, native of the town of San Juan, in the county of Niebla, and resident in the city of La Paz or the New Town, where he

rapid, but his surviving comrades continued the voyage, and entered the great river Madera: just as the Yncas had done centuries before, as described in the above chapter. See Sir Roderick Murchison's Address to the R. G. S. for 1867 (vol. xxxvii, p. clv).

If we had read our Garcilasso de Vega more carefully, and had relied upon the Ynca's accuracy, we should never have been led into these erroneous geographical guesses. I am glad that it was reserved for one of the Ynca's countrymen to set us all right, though at the cost of his life.

possessed a small *repartimiento* of Indians, persuaded by a *Curaca* of his Indians, assembled a dozen more Spaniards, and, taking the same *Curaca* as a guide, set out in search of gold, which was said to exist in the province of Musu.[1] They undertook the search on foot, as there was no road for horses, and also that they might be less encumbered. For their object was to discover the province, and mark the road, with a view to obtaining permission to conquer it, and to return with more strength to settle in the land. They went in by Cochapampa, which is nearer to the country of the Moxos.

For twenty-eight days they marched through forests and swamps, and at last they came in sight of the first village. Although their guide told them to wait until some Indian should come out, whom they might capture without noise, and so gain intelligence, they would not follow his advice. But, as soon as night closed in, thinking that the name of a Spaniard was enough to make the village surrender, they suddenly rushed in with as much noise as possible, that the Indians might be frightened into the belief that there were many Spaniards. But the opposite effect was caused; for the Indians came forth at the noise, and seeing there were few assailants, they fell upon them, killed ten, and captured Diego Aleman. The other two escaped under shelter of the darkness, and went to the place where the guide had told them to wait, and where he more wisely had remained. One of those who escaped was named Francisco Moreno, the son of a Spaniard by an Indian woman, and born in Cochapampa. He got a mantle of cotton which was hung in the air to serve as a hammock or cradle for a child, and six small bells of gold. The mantle was woven with sevaral colours. At dawn the two Spaniards and the *Curaca* saw the Indians outside the village with lances and pikes, from the top of a hill, where they were concealed. The arms glittered beauti-

[1] Moxos.

fully in the sun, and the guide told the Spaniards that all they saw glittering was gold; and that these Indians had no silver except what they might obtain in dealings with the people of Peru. To give the Spaniards an idea of the grandeur of that province, the guide took the mantle which was woven in strips, and said:—"This land is as much greater than Peru, as one strip is smaller than the whole of this mantle. But the Indian, being a bad cosmographer, was deceived, though it is true that the province is very large.

It was afterwards ascertained from the Indians who occasionally come to trade with those of Peru, that the captors of Diego Aleman, having learnt that he had a *repartimiento* of Indians in Peru, and that he was captain of the little band of Spaniards who had entered their country, made him their captain-general in a war in which they were engaged, with the Indians on the other side of the river Amaru-mayu. They treated him with great honour, and respected him by reason of the advantage they expected from having a Spanish captain-general. The companion, who escaped with Francisco Moreno, the Mestizo, died from the effects of the hardships he endured, as soon as they reached a friendly province. One of their worst troubles was the crossing of vast morasses, which could not be effected on horseback. The Mestizo Francisco Moreno gave a long account of what he saw during this expedition, and his narrative incited others to undertake the enterprise. It was sought for and granted to a young knight named Gomez de Tordoya, by the Count of Nieva, who was then Viceroy of Peru.[1] But as a large number of people assembled to go with him, a fear was aroused that there might be some mutiny. The expedition was therefore suspended, and the authorities issued orders that men should not be collected, and that those already engaged should be dismissed.

[1] Don Diego de Zuñiga y Velasco, Count of Nieva, arrived at Lima as Viceroy in April 1560; where he died in a few months, under somewhat suspicious circumstances.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING UNFORTUNATE EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THAT PROVINCE.

Two years afterwards a similar grant was conceded by the licentiate Castro,[1] then Governor of Peru, to another knight, a citizen of Cuzco, named Gaspar de Sotelo, who prepared for the expedition with a large and distinguished body of men, who volunteered to accompany him. The best arrangement that was made was the agreement with the Ynca Tupac Amaru,[2] who was then retired in Vilcapampa, that he should also undertake the conquest. The Ynca offered to go with Sotelo, and to furnish all the canoes that might be necessary, the party entering the forests by the Vilcapampa river, which is N.E. of Cuzco. But, as in such undertakings there is no want of rivals, certain men negotiated with the Governor, and persuaded him to grant the concession to another citizen of Cuzco, named Juan Alvarez Maldonado, annulling the previous grant to Gaspar de Sotelo. This Maldonado assembled two hundred and fifty soldiers, and more than a hundred horses and mares; and embarked in large canoes, which were made on the river Amaru-mayu, to the east of

[1] The Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro was a Councillor of the Indies, and did our author a very bad turn, when he applied for some recognition of his father's services. Castro raked up a story that the elder Garcilasso had rebelled with Gonzalo Pizarro, and when the Ynca represented that the accusation was false, Castro answered:—"The historians say so, and who are you that denies it." Castro thus shut the doors of favour upon him from that quarter; but the Ynca was befriended by his father's relations (ii, lib. v, cap. 23).

On the death of the Count of Nieva, the Licentiate Castro was appointed Governor-General of Peru in 1564. In 1569 he returned to Spain, and resumed his seat at the table of the Council of the Indies.

[2] Son of Ynca Manco, and grandson of Huayna Ccapac. He was afterwards judicially murdered by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

Cuzco. Gomez de Tordoya, seeing that the concession of which he had been deprived had been granted to Gaspar de Sotelo, and finally to Juan Alvarez Maldonado, although he had spent his fortune, and those of his friends, in preparing for it, was indignant at the affront, and declared that he also had a right to undertake the conquest. For, although it had been notified that he was deprived of the grant, yet it was true that he had not been made to surrender the instrument or deed. He, therefore, called his followers together, but few assembled because it was known to be against the will of the Governor. His force scarcely amounted to sixty men, with whom, in spite of much hindrance, he entered the province of Cameta, to the S.E. of Cuzco. After crossing great forests and morasses he reached the river Amaru-mayu, where he got news that Juan Arias[1] had not yet passed. So he waited for him, as for an enemy, with entrenchments thrown up on the banks of the river. Here he intended to resist him and gain the superiority, for, though he had few companions, he confided in their valour, because they were chosen men, and his friends. Each man had two arquebuses in very good order.

Juan Alvarez Maldonado, descending the river, arrived where Gomez de Tordoya was waiting for him, and, as they were rivals in the same enterprize, the two parties began to fight without first having any parley or treating for any truce. Yet they might have united into one company, which would have been a gain for all. But the ambition to command will not brook an equal or even a second. The first to begin the attack was Juan Alvarez Maldonado, who was rendered confident by his superiority in numbers. Gomez de Tordoya

[1] Misprint for Alvarez. The same in both editions. He was thinking of another Juan Arias Maldonado, son of Diego Maldonado the Rich, by an Indian woman, and one of our Ynca's schoolfellows. Juan Arias went to Spain, and returned to Peru, dying of joy at again landing on his native shores, within three days (ii, lib. viii, cap. 17).

awaited the attack, trusting to his entrenchments, and to his double supply of arms, with which his followers fought during the whole day. Many were killed on both sides. They continued the battle on the second and third day so fiercely, and with so little moderation, that nearly all were killed, and the few survivors were in such a condition that they were not fit for service. The Chunchos, who were the Indians of that province, seeing them in such a state, and knowing that they had come to conquer the country, attacked them, and killed them all, including Gomez de Tordoya. I knew those three cavaliers when I was in Cuzco, and I left them there when I went to Spain. The Indians captured three Spaniards. One was Juan Alvarez Maldonado, another was a friar of our Lady of Mercy, named Diego Martin Portugues, and the third was an artificer, called Master Simon Lopez, a very expert gunsmith. They were civil to Maldonado, knowing that he had been a leader of one of the parties, and, as he was old and useless, they gave him his liberty to return to Cuzco, guiding him until he reached the province of Calla-uaya,[1] whence they get gold of twenty-four carats. But they detained the friar and the blacksmith for more than two years. When they found that Master Simon was a smith, they brought him a quantity of copper, and ordered him to make hatchets and adzes, and he was not employed on any other work during the whole time. They held Friar Diego Martin in great veneration, knowing that he was a priest and minister of the God of the Christians. Even when they gave them leave to depart, they besought the friar to stay with them and teach them the Christian faith; but he did not wish to do so. The Indians have lost many other opportunities of receiving the Holy Gospel, without violence.

After more than two years the Chunchos gave these two Spaniards permission to return to Peru, and they guided them as far as the valley of Calla-uaya. The Spaniards gave

[1] Caravaya.

an account of these events, and also of what the Yncas had achieved in descending that river, and how they had penetrated to the land of the Musus, who, from that time, recognised the Yncas as their Lords, and agreed to serve them, bringing them many presents every year, consisting of the products of their land. These presents continued to be brought until the death of the Ynca Tupac Amaru, which took place a few years after the unlucky expeditions of Gomez de Tordoya and Juan Alvarez Maldonado.

I have placed these events out of their proper time and place, that they may bear witness to the conquest which the King Ynca Yupanqui ordered to be made, by following the great river Amaru-mayu; and to the fact that the Yncas who entered the country to achieve this conquest, remained among the Musus. Touching all this, Fray Diego Martin and Master Simon brought back a full account, which they related to those who wished to hear. The friar especially declared that he deeply regretted not having remained among the Chunchos, as they had asked him, and that his reason was that he had no means of saying mass. If he had had the means of performing that sacrament, he declared that he certainly would have stayed. He said that he often had a good mind to go back alone, because he could not rid himself of an accusing conscience, for not having complied with the request that the Indians had made with much earnestness. This friar also said that the Yncas who had remained among the Musus would have been very useful to the Spaniards in their conquest. It will now be well to return to the acts of the good King Ynca Yupanqui, and to relate the history of the conquest of Chile, which was one of his chief enterprises.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE NATION CHIRIHUANA, OF THEIR MODE OF LIFE, AND CUSTOMS.

As the chief care of the Yncas was to conquer new kingdoms and provinces, as well for the glory of their empire as to gratify the ambition of the kings, which is so natural among great men, the Ynca Yupanqui resolved, after four years had elapsed, from the time when he sent the expedition down the river, to make another conquest. This was the subjugation of a great province called Chirihuana, which is in the Antis to the east of Charcas. With this object, the land being hitherto unknown, he sent spies, who examined the country and its inhabitants with all possible care and diligence, in order to learn what would be necessary for the undertaking. The spies did their work, and returned with a report that the land was execrable, being covered with dense forests, morasses, and lakes, very little of which was available for cultivation. They also reported that the natives were worse than wild beasts, and without any religion, laws, or human customs, having no houses, and eating human flesh. They made inroads into neighbouring districts, and ate all they captured, without respect for sex or age, drinking the blood of those they beheaded, that they might lose nothing of their prize. They not only ate the flesh of their enemies, but also that of their relations who died; and, after they had eaten their flesh, they joined the bones together, mourning and interring them in hollows of rocks and trees. They went naked, and, in their cohabitation, made no distinction between sisters, daughters, or mother: and this was the usual mode of life among the Chirihuanas.

The good Ynca Yupanqui (we give this title to the prince

because his countrymen usually call him so, as also does Pedro de Cieza de Leon whenever he speaks of him) having heard this report, turned his face to those of the blood royal, who were his uncles, brothers, nephews, and more distant relations who attended upon his person, and spoke as follows:— "Now our obligation to undertake the conquest of the Chirihuanas is stronger than ever. We are bound to deliver them from the bestial and vicious state in which they live, and to teach them the life of men; for this our Father the Sun has sent us." Having said these words, he ordered ten thousand warriors to be assembled, with whom he sent masters of the camp, and captains of his own family—men who were well instructed in affairs both of peace and war, and well versed in their duties. These officers departed, and, having ascertained a part of the disadvantages of the Chirihuana province, they sent a report to the Ynca, beseeching him to order further supplies to be sent to them that they might not fall short, because that land would yield none. They were accordingly plentifully furnished with provisions, and the captains, with their army, did all that was possible. But, at the end of two years, they came forth without having accomplished the undertaking, owing to the great store of morasses, swamps, lakes, and dense forests. They submitted a full report of all that had taken place to the Ynca, who ordered them to rest and prepare for other conquests which he contemplated.

The Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, who governed these kingdoms in 1572, desired to achieve the conquest of the Chirihuanas, as Father Acosta cursorily remarks in the twenty-eighth chapter of his seventh book.[1] For this purpose he assembled many Spaniards, and collected the necessary supplies. He took with him many horses and mares, and cattle for breeding, and entered the province; but in a few days he learnt the difficulty of the undertaking by ex-

[1] But he does not mention Toledo's name.

perience. He had not believed in them before, and had paid no attention to those who counselled him not to attempt that which the Yncas had abandoned. The Viceroy came back as a fugitive, having left behind all he had taken with him, that the Indians might be satisfied with their captures, and leave him to escape. He came out by so bad a road that, as the beasts were unable to drag the litter in which he travelled, the Spaniards and Indians had to carry him on their shoulders. The Chirihuanas followed behind, with derisive shouts, and cried out to the bearers to throw that old woman out of the basket, that they might eat her alive.[1]

The Chirihuanas are very fond of human flesh, because they can procure no other, either of tame or wild animals, owing to the dreadful nature of the country. But if they had taken care of the cows which the Viceroy left behind, they would have increased largely, as there are open plains in that region, as in the islands of Santo Domingo and Cuba. The Chirihuana lost some of their savage character through the slight communication they had with the Yncas; for, from that time, they left off eating their own dead. But they continued to eat their neighbours; and they are so greedy after human flesh, that they fight for it without fear of death, seeking to capture an enemy; and if they come upon shepherds watching sheep, they prefer one shepherd to a whole herd of bullocks or a flock of sheep. Owing to this fierceness and cruelty, they are feared by all their

[1] After the ignominious retreat of the Viceroy Toledo, no Spaniard entered the country of the Chirihuanas until 1607, when two friars named Ortega and Villarnao undertook a mission to these barbarians. But they gave it up in despair, and returned to their mission at Chuquisaca in 1609. Afterwards the Jesuits established missions among them. See *Chronica Franciscana por Fray Diego de Cordova* (Lima, 1650), lib. i, cap. 15; and *Descripcion Chorografica del Gran Charco por Pedro Lozana* (Cordova, 1733), p. 131. See also Dobrizhoffer's *Abipones*, and Vigne's *Travels*, i, p. 277. The Chirihuanas spoke a dialect of Guarani.

neighbours, and a hundred or even a thousand men will not stand up against ten Chirihuanas. Children are quieted and silenced by their very name. The Chirihuanas also learnt from the Yncas how to make dwellings, in which they lived in common. These are very large houses, divided into as many partitions as there are inhabitants, which are so small as only just to hold the tenants; and this is sufficient, as they have no clothes, but go naked. So that each house may be considered as a village. This is what there is to be said concerning the brutal condition of the Chirihuanas, and it will be a great wonder to draw them out of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CHILE.

The good King Ynca Yupanqui, although he saw that little or no fruit was to be gained from the conquest of the Chirihuanas, did not lose heart, nor abandon the intention of achieving greater things. For the grand aim and glory of the Yncas was to reduce new tribes and to teach them the laws and customs of the children of the Sun; and, as the empire was now so powerful, its rulers could not desist from new conquests, thus occupying the vassals in the duty of increasing the dominions of the Yncas, while making use of the revenues, which consisted of the food, arms, clothing, and shoes, which each province, according to its products, contributed every year. Gold and silver, as we have elsewhere explained, were not given by the vassals as tribute to to the king, but as offerings for adorning and beautifying the royal houses and those of the Sun. The King Ynca Yupanqui, being well beloved and obeyed and very powerful in the number of his men and in his resources, therefore

resolved to undertake a great enterprise, which was the conquest of the kingdom of Chile. After consulting his Council, he gave the necessary orders, and, leaving experienced ministers at his court, he himself advanced to Atacama, which is the last inhabited province in the direction of Chile; and beyond there is a vast desert, which it was necessary to cross.

From Atacama the Ynca sent spies into the desert to discover a road into Chile, and report upon its difficulties, in order that the necessary precautions might be taken. Only persons of the blood royal were employed on duties of such importance by these kings, to whom some Indians of Atacama, and some from Tucma[1] (through whom, as has already been stated, certain intelligence concerning the kingdom of Chile had been obtained[2]) were given as guides. They stopped every two leagues to send back reports of what they had seen, an arrangement which was necessary, in order that needful supplies might be sent. Yet the discoverers encountered great hardships and difficulties in the desert; and they set up marks, so as to find the road on their return; and that those who should follow them might know whither they had gone. Thus they went backwards and forwards like ants, sending back reports of their discoveries, and bring forward all necessary supplies. By these means they traversed the eighty leagues of desert between Atacama and Copayapu,[3] which is a small though populous district, surrounded by wide uninhabited tracts; for beyond, as far as Cuquimpu,[4] there are other eighty leagues of desert. After the discoverers had reached Copayapu, and collected all the information they could gather respecting the province, they returned, with all diligence, to make a personal report to the Ynca. Having received their report, the Ynca ordered an army of ten thousand men to be formed in

[1] Tucuman.
[2] See vol. i, p. 81.
[3] Copiapo.
[4] Coquimbo.

the usual way, under the command of a general named Sinchiroca, and two masters of the camp of the blood royal, whose names are not now remembered by the Indians. He caused the supplies of food to be carried on beasts of burden, which would also serve for food themselves; for their flesh is very good meat.

As soon as the Ynca had despatched the ten thousand warriors, he formed another army of the same nnmber of men to follow, and serve as a support to their friends and a terror to their enemies. When the first army arrived in the neighbourhood of Copayapu, messengers were sent, according to the ancient custom of the Yncas, calling upon the inhabitants to submit to the child of the Sun, who came to give them a new religion, and new laws and customs, under which they might live like men and not like brutes. If they refused they were told that they would be attacked; for that either by force or by agreement they must be made to obey the Ynca, Lord of the four quarters of the world. The people of Copayapu took up arms and prepared to resist the invasion. Some slight skirmishes took place. But the Yncas, in compliance with the orders of the king, did not wish to wage war by fire and sword, hoping that the enemy would peaceably submit. The invaded people were perplexed; for, while on the one hand they dreaded the Deity of the child of the Sun, fearing that they might fall under some curse, if they did not receive his son as their Lord; on the other they were animated by the desire to maintain their ancient liberty, and by a love of their own gods, having no desire for new things, but rather wishing to live as their fathers had lived before them.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE YNCAS SUBDUE THE COUNTRY AS FAR AS THE VALLEY THEY CALL CHILE. THE MESSAGES AND REPLIES EXCHANGED WITH OTHER NEW NATIONS.

During this state of doubt, the second army arrived, to reinforce the first, at the sight of which the people of Copayapu submitted, as it seemed to them that they could not resist so large an army. So they agreed with the Yncas respecting the things they were to receive and forsake in their idolatry. All these things were reported to the Ynca, who was pleased at having an open road, and at so good a commencement having been made in the conquest of Chile; for that kingdom, being so distant and so isolated, the Ynca had feared lest his power should be inadequate for its subjugation. Thus he considered it important that the province of Copayapu had become his through peaceful agreement, and not by force of arms. In order to follow up this success, he commanded another army of ten thousand warriors to be formed, with the necessary supplies, to reinforce the others, which he ordered to proceed with the conquest with all diligence. The Yncas, having received these reinforcements and the orders of their king, advanced across another eighty leagues, encountering many hardships and difficulties in the road, and arrived at another valley or province, called Cuquimpu; which they conquered. It is unknown whether any battles or encounters took place, for the country was so distant that the Indians of Peru are unable to relate the particulars, beyond the fact that the Yncas conquered that valley of Cuquimpu. Thence they advanced, subduing all the nations as far as the valley of Chile,[1] from which the whole country took its name of Chile. During

[1] This is the plain in which the city of Santiago stands.

the whole time that this conquest was in progress, which is said to have been more than six years, the Ynca took particular care to aid his people with reinforcements, and supplies of food, clothing, and shoes, that they might want for nothing. He knew well the importance to his honour and majesty of not taking a single step backwards. Thus his army was increased to fifty thousand warriors in Chile, all supplied with necessaries, as if they were in the city of Cuzco.

The Yncas, having reduced the valley of Chile to submission, reported their proceedings to the Ynca; indeed, they sent him a daily report of what took place. Having made the usual arrangements for the administration of the conquered provinces, they marched onwards towards the south, conquering the tribes as far as the river Maulli, which is almost fifty leagues from the valley of Chile. I know not what battles and encounters took place, but it was supposed that the country was reduced by peaceful means. The Yncas had now extended their empire more than two hundred and sixty leagues from Atacama to the river Maulli, being partly uninhabited and partly populous country. For it is eighty leagues from Atacama to Copayapu, and another eighty from Copayapu to Cuquimpu. From Cuquimpu to Chile it is fifty-five, and from the Chile to the river Maulli almost fifty leagues. But they were not content with this conquest, and their ambition and lust for power led them to desire to advance still further. With this view, with their accustomed forethought, they arranged the affairs of the country already conquered, and, placing in it the necessary garrisons, as a precaution against disaster, the Yncas crossed the river Maulli with twenty thousand men. In accordance with their usual custom, they sent to the people of Purumauca, whom the Spaniards call Promaucaes,[1] demanding that they should acknowledge the Ynca as their lord, or pre-

[1] See Ercilla's *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto I (I, p. 16).

pare for war. The Purumaucas, who had already received news respecting the Yncas, and had formed an alliance with neighbouring tribes called Antallis, Pincus,[1] and Caciquis,[2] were determined to die rather than lose their ancient liberty. They answered that the conquerors would be lords over the conquered, and that the Yncas should very soon see in what manner the Purumaucas would obey them.

Three or four days after this interchange of messages, the Purumaucas, with their allies, assembled to the number of eighteen or twenty thousand men, but made no other movement than to take up a position within sight of the Yncas, who sent them a second proposal of peace and friendship. In this message, the Yncas made great protestations, in the name of the Sun and the Moon, that they did not come to deprive them of their lands and property, but to teach them to live like men, and to recognise the Sun as their god, and his child the Ynca as their lord. The Purumaucas answered by saying that they were resolved not to waste their time in words and useless argument, but to fight, and either to conquer or die; and that, therefore, the Yncas had better prepare for battle on the ensuing day, and not continue to send any more messages which they had no wish to hear.

CHAPTER XX.

CRUEL BATTLE BETWEEN THE YNCAS AND THE ALLIED TRIBES. THE FIRST SPANIARD WHO DISCOVERED CHILE.

On the following day, both armies advanced from their quarters, and, attacking each other, fought with great fury and bravery, and greater obstinacy, the battle lasting all

[1] Called *Pancones*, in the *Araucana*.

[2] The *Cauquenes* of the *Araucana*.

day without any advantage on either side. There were many killed and wounded; and at night they retired to their quarters. On the second and third days they fought with the same ferocious pertinacity, the one side for liberty and the other for honour. At the end of the third battle, it was found that both sides had lost half their forces in killed, while nearly all the survivors were wounded. On the fourth day, though both armies assembled in their squadrons, they did not come forth from their quarters, where they were entrenched ready for defence if they were attacked. Thus they remained all that and the two following days. At the end of that time, they both retired, each fearing that the other might have sent for reinforcements. To the Purumaucas and their allies it seemed that they had done enough in having resisted the arms of the Yncas, which had hitherto been deemed invincible. They, therefore, returned to their homes, chaunting songs of victory, and proclaiming that their success had been complete.

To the Yncas it seemed that it would be more in accordance with the policy of their kings to give way to the bestial fury of their enemies than to destroy them with the object of subjugation, while they sent for reinforcements, which might be expected to arrive in a short time. Although some of the captains were of opinion that the war should be carried on until the enemy submitted, it was eventually resolved to return to the country already conquered, and to fix the river Maulli as the boundary of the Empire, not advancing further in the conquest until fresh orders had been received from the Ynca Yupanqui, to whom everything that had happened was reported.[1] The Ynca commanded that

[1] Ercilla says that an immense number of *Orejones* (Yncas) were killed, and that they lost their camp and all their ensigns. He then, as in the text, tells us that the Yncas retired and gave up their attempts at further conquest south of the river Maule. *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto I, i, p. 14 (ed. Madrid, 1776).

no further conquests should be made, but that much attention should be given to the cultivation and improvement of the provinces already acquired, seeking always the good of the inhabitants. When the neighbouring people saw the advantages obtained by those tribes who had submitted to the Ynca, it was expected that they would also voluntarily submit, as had happened on other occasions, and if they did not, they would lose more than the Yncas. After receiving these orders, the Yncas of Chile desisted from their conquests, and fortified their boundaries. The river Maulli was fixed as the extreme limit of the empire. Attention was given to the administration of justice, to the revenues of the Ynca and of the Sun, and great benefits were conferred on the people, who entered upon their duties as subjects of the Ynca with joy, living under their laws and customs until the arrival of the Spaniards.

The first Spaniard who discovered Chile was Don Diego de Almagro, but he did no more than see it and return to Peru, in the face of innumerable hardships, both in going and coming. His expedition gave rise to the general rebellion of the Indians of Peru, and to the contentions which afterwards arose between the two governors, ending in civil wars, and in the death of the same Don Diego de Almagro, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Las Salinas, as well as that of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and of Don Diego de Almagro the Mestizo, who fought the battle of Chupas. The second Spaniard who entered the kingdom of Chile was the Governor Don Pedro de Valdivia, who took with him a large force of men and horses, and advanced beyond the point reached by the Yncas. He conquered and happily settled the kingdom, but the same felicity gave rise to his own death by the hands of one of his vassals belonging to the province called Araucu, which he had selected for himself, in the *repartimiento* made between the conquerors. This knight founded and settled many cities of Spaniards,

and among them that which received his name of Valdivia. He performed very grand achievements in the conquest of that kingdom. He governed with great prudence and judgment, and with the prospect of much prosperity for himself and his people, if the fierce ardour of an Indian had not broken all by cutting the thread of his life. As the death of this Governor and Captain-General was one of the most famous and notable deeds that had been done by the Indians throughout the whole empire of the Yncas since the Spaniards arrived, and one the most to be deplored, I propose to set down here what actually happened, in order that the first and second report of this ill-fated battle, which arrived in Peru, may be known; but to make the story intelligible, it will be necessary to describe the origin and commencement of the events which led to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

REBELLION IN CHILE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR VALDIVIA.

When the kingdom of Chile was divided after the conquest, there fell to the share of this knight, who was worthy of empires, a very rich *repartimiento*, containing much gold and many vassals, and yielding an annual tribute of one hundred thousand *pesos de oro*.[1] As the thirst for this metal is insatiable, it increased in proportion to the quantity given by the Indians. These Indians were not accustomed to the labour necessary for obtaining the gold, and they could not

[1] Valdivia subjugated the *Promaucaes*, who had succeeded in repulsing the invasion of the Yncas, as well as their allies, the *Cauquenes* and *Pencones*, mentioned by Garcilasso in chapter xix. He crossed the Maule, defeated the *Araucos* and other warlike tribes, in every encounter, and overran their country. He then founded seven Chilian cities, Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago.

endure the annoyance they were subjected to with respect to it. At last, the Indians of Araucu, who were those granted to Valdivia, and others allied with them, resolved to rebel. They began by offending the Spaniards by their great insolence.[1] The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, when he knew this, came forth to chastise them with one hundred and fifty cavalry, despising the Indians to an extent never before shown by the Spaniards when similar revolts had taken place. This pride was the cause of many deaths, as well as that of Pedro de Valdivia and his followers, at the hands of those whom they had despised.[2]

The first news of his death that came to Peru, was brought to the city of La Plata by an Indian of Chile, written on a paper two fingers' lengths in width, without signature or date of time or place. It was said that Pedro de Valdivia and the one hundred and fifty lances who were with him, had been swallowed by the earth. The tidings of these words, with the news that they had been brought by an Indian of Chile, spread over Peru, to the great dismay of the Spaniards, who could not understand what this swallowing of the earth could mean; for they were unable to believe that there was force in the Indians to kill one hundred and fifty mounted Spaniards, such a thing never having happened up to that time. They said (because that kingdom, equally with Peru, is mountainous and full of deep gorges and ravines, and a region subject to earthquakes) that the truth probably was that these Spaniards, travelling along

[1] They tortured and killed two Spanish soldiers without apparent cause. They then rose in arms, and their chiefs met in council to concert measures for driving the Spaniards out of the country. Ercilla enumerates and describes the chiefs in a magnificent passage.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

[2] Valdivia, at the time of the rising, was at Penco, where, says Ercilla, there were rich mines of fine gold. He seems to have carelessly underrated the danger, and to have delayed taking the necessary steps, while he got in his tribute from the gold mines.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

some deep gorge, must have been crushed by a piece of rock; and this version was received by all. For, judging by all former experience of the power of the Indians, it could not be credited that the Spaniards had fallen in battle. While the people in Peru were thus confused, some further tidings arrived after sixty days, with a full account of the death of Valdivia and his men, and of the last battle he fought with the Indians. I will quote from the news as it was then brought from Chile. Having mentioned the rising of the Indians and their insolent conduct, the account continued as follows:—

"When Valdivia arrived where the rebel Araucos were, he found twelve or thirteen thousand of them, with whom he had several desperate encounters, in which the Spaniards were always victorious; and the Indians were so disheartened by the charges of the cavalry that they would not come out in the open plain, for ten horsemen would scatter a thousand Indians. They remained in the hills and woods, where the horses could not master them, and thence they did all the mischief they could, refusing to listen to any terms that were offered to them, and obstinate in their determination to die rather than be servants of the Spaniards. Thus the two sides remained for many days. These evil tidings spread each day into the interior of the Arauco country, until they were told to an old captain who had been famous in their wars, but was now retired to his own home.[1] He came out to see what wonder was this, that one hundred and fifty men could hold in check twelve or thirteen thousand warriors. This he was unable to believe, if these Spaniards were not devils or immortals, which the Indians thought at first. In order to undeceive himself on these points, he desired to join the war, and see what passed with his own eyes. He reached the top of a hill, whence he had a view of both

[1] The story is not told in this way by Ercilla; but the old chief of the text appears to have been the Caupolican of the *Araucana*.

armies, the line of his own people widely extended, and that of the Spaniards small and compact. He was considering for a long time what could be the cause that so few men could conquer so many. Having closely examined the situation, he repaired to the camp of his countrymen and called a Council. After long discourses on the events that had taken place up to that time, he asked these questions, among many others.

"Are the Spaniards mortal men like the Indians, or immortal like the Sun and Moon? Do they feel hunger, thirst, and fatigue? Have they the necessity for sleeping and rest? In short, he asked whether they were made of flesh and blood, or of iron and steel? He asked the same questions respecting the horses. Having been told that they were men of the same appearance and habits as the Indians, he explained: Let all now rest, and to-morrow we will see who are the best men, the Spaniards or ourselves. With that the Council broke up, and at the first appearance of dawn next day he ordered a call to arms, which was sounded with much greater shouts and noise of trumpets, drums, and other like instruments, than was usual. He armed thirteen squadrons of a thousand men each, and formed them in a thread, one behind the other."

CHAPTER XXII.

A BATTLE ON A NEW PLAN, AND WITH WARLIKE ARDOUR, CONDUCTED BY AN OLD INDIAN CAPTAIN.

The Spaniards came forth on hearing the shouts of the Indians, splendidly armed, with great plumes on their heads and on those of their horses, and with many breastplates hung with bells. When they saw the divided squadrons,

they thought less of their enemies, as it seemed to them that they could more easily scatter many small squadrons than one very large body of men. The Indian captain, seeing the Spaniards in the plain, said to the men of his first squadron, "Go, my brothers, and fight with the Spaniards. I do not say you will conquer them, but do your best for your country, and when you can do no more, fly, and I will succour you. But when you of the first squadron fly, do not mix with the second, nor the second with the third, but retire behind all the other squadrons, when I will direct what you should then do." With these orders the old captain sent his men to fight the Spaniards, who attacked the first squadron, and, though the Indians did what they could in their defence, they routed them. They also scattered the second, third, fourth, and fifth squadrons with ease; but not so easily but that many on their side were wounded, and some killed, men as well as horses.

The Indian captain, as the first squadron fell back defeated, sent the others forward to fight, in their order. And in the rear of the whole army he had a captain who formed new squadrons out of the fugitive Indians, each of a thousand men, whom he ordered to be supplied with food and drink, and to rest until their turn to fight should come again. Having defeated five squadrons, the Spaniards looked out to observe how many remained, and they saw another eleven or twelve before them. They had now fought for more than three hours; nevertheless they cheered each other on, and charged the sixth squadron and routed it, as well as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. Yet neither they nor their horses were as fresh as at first, since they had fought for seven long hours without ceasing for a moment. The Indians never gave them rest, one squadron having scarcely been defeated before another came to the attack, and the routed men fell out of the battle to rest and form themselves into new squadrons. It was then that the

Spaniards saw that their enemies still had ten squadrons ready to fight; yet, with indomitable courage, they prepared to renew the conflict, though they were worn and tired, both men and horses. Yet they continued the battle with as much vigour as possible, that their weakness might not be seen by the Indians. But the Indians, from hour to hour, recovered their strength, while the Spaniards were losing it; for they felt that their enemies no longer fought as they did in the beginning, or even in the middle of the day. Thus the two armies continued until two in the afternoon.

Then the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, seeing that there were still eight or ten squadrons to scatter, and that, though this were achieved, the Indians continued to form new ones; and considering that, in this new way of fighting, judging from the small respite there had been during the day, neither would there be rest at night; it seemed well to retire, before the horses were quite worn out. His intention was to retreat to a narrow pass, which he had left about a league and a half in his rear, and he thought that if that point could be reached, he would be safe, as there the Spaniards, on foot, could defend the pass against the whole army of the enemy.

Having taken this resolution, though tardily, he called to his men, and said that they were to retreat gradually to the narrow pass. This they did, forming in close order, and retiring little by little, with their faces always to the foe, but more with the intention of defending themselves than of attack.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE INDIANS GAIN THE VICTORY, THROUGH THE TREASONABLE ASSISTANCE OF ONE OF THEMSELVES.

At this moment an Indian who, from a boy, had been brought up by the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, named Felipe, his Indian name being Lautaru, a son of one of their chiefs (in whom the love of country was stronger than the faith he owed to his God and his master), hearing the Spaniards calling to each other to retreat, and knowing their language from having been brought up amongst them, and fearing that his relations would be satisfied at seeing the Spaniards retreat, and that they would allow them to retire unmolested, left the Spanish ranks;[1] crying, "Do not be faint-hearted, my brothers; these thieves are now flying, and they set their hopes on reaching the narrow pass. Think, therefore, of what is needful for the freedom of our country, and the death and destruction of these traitors." Saying these words, to animate his own people, he took up a lance from the ground and stationed himself at their head, to fight against the Spaniards.

The old Indian captain who had adopted these new tactics, seeing the road taken by the Spaniards, and hearing the warning of Lautaru, understood what the enemy intended to do, and ordered the two squadrons which had not yet been engaged, to march with speed and diligence, and by short cuts, and occupy the narrow pass which the Spaniards wished to reach, and to remain there until they were joined by the rest of the Indians. Having given this order, he advanced with the remaining squadrons in pursuit

[1] *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III. According to Ercilla, the Araucanos, and not the Spaniards, were on the point of retreating, when they were rallied by Lautaru.

of the Spaniards, every now and then sending fresh companies forward to engage them, and prevent them from getting any rest. This was also done that the Indians who were fatigued with fighting might retire from the conflict and refresh themselves for renewed efforts. In this way they followed and pressed upon the Spaniards, until they reached the narrow pass, killing some, and never ceasing to fight for a moment. When they reached the pass it was near sunset. The Spaniards, on seeing that the pass was occupied and guarded by the enemy, gave up all hope of escaping death, and, in order to die like Christians, they called upon the name of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin his Mother, and of the Saints for whom they felt most devotion.[1]

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards were so tired that neither they nor their horses could do more, rushed upon them, as well those who had pursued as those who guarded the pass, and gave the horses and their riders as many wounds as they could inflict on all parts of their bodies. They hurled them on the ground, and killed them with all the rage and cruelty they could show. They took the Governor Pedro Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, alive, and fastened them to poles until the fight was over, intending to settle what should be done with them, at their leisure. Thus far I have given the substance of the second report that came from Chile to Peru touching the defeat and death of Valdivia, as soon as it happened, and sent by the friendly Indians who were present in the battle. Three of these escaped, having hid themselves in some bushes, during the darkness of the night; and when the Indians assembled to celebrate their victory, they came out of their hiding-place, and as men who knew their road, and were more loyal to their masters than Lautaru, they

[1] The manœuvre of the narrow pass does not form a feature in Ercilla's description of the battle.

went to give news of the disaster to the Spaniards, and of the death of the famous Pedro de Valdivia and of all who were with him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THEY KILL VALDIVIA, AND THE WAR CONTINUES FOR FIFTY YEARS.

After the arrival of the second report in Peru, the way in which the Governor Pedro de Valdivia was killed by the Indians, was described in several ways. For the three Indians[1] who escaped from the battle could not give an accurate account, because they were not eye-witnesses. Some said that his own servant, Lautaru, killed him, when he was fastened to a pole, saying to his countryman, "Why do you spare this traitor?" They said that the governor had prayed to the Indians not to kill him until his servant should come, expecting that, as he had been his servant, he would save his life. Others said, and this was the most probable account, that an old captain had killed him with a club. He may have been the same captain through whose tactics the victory was won. They killed him hastily, lest their men should accept the offers of the poor governor, and unfasten him from the pole to which he was tied. For the other Indian captains, trusting in the promises of Pedro de Valdivia, were inclined to liberate him. He offered to depart from Chile and to take with him all the Spaniards, and never to return again. But that captain, seeing the inclination of the others and that they were ready to give credit to the Governor, rose up amongst them and suddenly killed the poor knight with a club, thus ending the discussion.[2]

[1] Ercilla says that only two of the friendly Indians escaped out of three thousand.

[2] This is the account given by Ercilla. *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III.

He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rieros, a native of Truxillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonzo de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

But the executioner is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Leocato.

[1] Hacen su campo y muestranse en formados
Esquadrones distintos, muy enteros,
Cada hila de mas de cien soldados,
Entre una pica y otra los flecheros
Que de lejos ofenden desmandados
Bajo la proteccion de los piqueros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta medir a pica al enemigo.

Si el esquadron primero que acomete,
Por fuerza viene a ser desbaratado,
Tan presto a socorrerle otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

having been caused by that rising which took place in 1553. In the same year the rebellion of Don Sebastian de Castilla took place in the towns of La Plata and Potosi, and that of Francisco Hernandez Giron in Cuzco.

I have briefly related what the Spaniards of Chile wrote and said in Peru touching the battle and death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia. It may be taken for what it is worth; and I have told the story out of its place because it is the most notable event that has happened throughout the Indies. I have told it briefly because I know not whether I shall find occasion to return to the affairs of Chile, and also because I fear lest I should not be able to reach the end of so great an undertaking as that of narrating the conquests achieved by the Spaniards in that kingdom.

CHAPTER XXV.

FURTHER UNFORTUNATE EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

I had written thus far, when they gave me fresh accounts of unfortunate and deplorable events which took place in Chile in the year 1599, and in Peru in 1600. Among other calamities they describe great earthquakes at Arequipa,[1] and how it had rained cinders for nearly twenty days out of the volcano. The cinders were in such quantity that in some

> Si aquel se desbarata, otro arremete,
> Y estando ya el primero reformado,
> Moverse de su termino no puede
> Hasta ver lo que al otro le sucede.
>
> *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto 1 (vol. i, p. 7, ed. Madrid, 1776).

[1] The first earthquake recorded at Arequipa, after the city was founded by Pizarro in 1540, was on January 2nd, 1580. The second great earthquake was that mentioned in the text, which took place on February 18th, 1600.

places they fell to the thickness of a yard, and in others more than two, the least thickness being a quarter of a yard.[1] The vineyards and fields of maize and wheat were buried, and the larger trees, whether bearing fruit or not, withered; while all the flocks perished for want of pasture. The sand that thus fell, covered the ground for an extent of more than thirty leagues round Arequipa. They found the cattle lying dead by five hundreds in one place, and many sheep, goats, and pigs were buried. The houses fell in from the weight of the sand, and those that stood were preserved by the diligence of their owners, in removing the sand from the roofs. The thunder and lightning was such that the storm was heard for a circuit of thirty leagues round Arequipa. The sun was so obscured by the clouds of dust that the people had to use candles in the middle of the day. They wrote accounts of these things that happened in Arequipa and in its neighbourhood, and I have set down a very brief summary of what I heard from Peru. It will suffice, because the historians who narrate the events of that period, will be bound to describe what took place in more detail.

The misfortunes of Chile shall also be shortly described, according to the accounts written from thence, because they are relevant to what has already been said touching those Arauco Indians and their deeds, arising out of the insurrection of 1553, which continues until this day, and we are now entering upon the year 1603. We know not when that war will end; for it seems to gather new vigour and force from

[1] The formation of the coast region nearest to Arequipa consists of granite with veins of quartz. But the plains are covered with large patches of very fine dust, consisting chiefly of silica, containing potash and mica, with small quantities of the *débris* of the rocks associated with the soil. Admiral FitzRoy suggested that this dust may be the ashes ejected from the Misti (the Arequipa volcano) at some remote period. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 71. The account of the irruption, given in the text, seems to account for the presence of these large patches of fine dust.

year to year. After forty-nine years of rebellion, and after waging a war of fire and sword during all that long time, they did what we are about to relate, which is taken word for word from a letter written by a citizen of Santiago de Chile. This letter reached me, together with the account of the calamities at Arequipa. They were sent me by a gentleman, a friend of mine who was in Peru, and served as a captain against the rebels in the kingdom of Quitua, who rose against the imposition of *alcabalas*.[1] He did good service to the Crown of Spain at that time. His name is Martin C—uaço.[2] He heads his account of the unfortunate events in Chile with "News from Chile", and then continues as follows:—"When I had finished writing the above news about Arequipa, others of much greater importance arrived from Chile, which are as follows, written in the same way as they were received."

"Account of the loss and destruction of the city of Valdivia in Chile, which took place on Wednesday, the 24th of November, 1599. At dawn, on that day, a body of five thousand neighbouring Indians attacked the city. Some of

[1] The *Alcabala* (from the Arabic *cabela*, "a thing received") was a tax, originally in the form of a percentage on all sales. It was first granted to Alonzo XI in 1342, for three years, in aid of the cost of taking Algesiras from the Moors. In 1349 the Cortes of Alcala again granted a twentieth to him; and in 1366 the Cortes of Burgos conceded a tenth. Future Spanish kings continued the *Alcabala* on the tenths of sales.—Solorzano, *Polit. Ind.*, lib. vi, cap. viii, p. 972.

When Don Francisco de Toledo went out as Viceroy of Peru in 1568, he had instructions to impose a property tax, to be called *Alcabala;* but he did not consider the times propitious, and refrained from exercising his power on this point. But in 1591 the Viceroy Don Garcia de Mendoza (afterwards Marquis of Cañete) received similar orders, and imposed a property tax of two per cent., called *Alcabala*, throughout Peru. This new tax gave rise to seditious tumults in Quito, and the Viceroy sent Don Pedro de Arana with a force to quell them, who restored quiet and punished the ringleaders.—*Vida y hechos del Marques de Cañete*, Suarez de Figueroa, lib. iv, p. 162.

[2] Same in both editions. A letter must have dropped out.

them also came from the districts of Ymperial, Pica, and Purem. There were three thousand on horseback, and the rest on foot, more than sixty being armed with arquebuses, and upwards of two hundred in armour. They arrived at dawn by surprise, as they had spies in the city. They knew that the Spaniards were asleep in their houses, and there were no more than four men on guard, and two that went the rounds. They were off their guard, owing to two *Malocas* (which is the same as incursions) that they had made twenty days before, when they attacked a fort of the Indians in the plain of Poparlan, and killed many of them. So they thought that there was no Indian within a circuit of eight leagues, as they had received a severe check. Thus the Indians, having bribed their spies, advanced with the greatest audacity that Indians had ever shown. They came very secretly to the door of each house, with a number proportioned to those that they knew to be inside, and guarded the ends of the streets. Then they set fire to the houses and watched the doors, so that no one might escape. Within two hours they had desolated the town with fire and sword and captured the fort and the artillery, there being no one to defend it. The number of killed was four hundred Spaniards—men, women, and children. They took three hundred thousand dollars' worth of spoil, and did not leave a thing that was not destroyed or burnt. They cut adrift the vessels belonging to Vallano and Villaroel, and another owned by Diego de Rojas, that were lying in the river. A few people escaped in canoes, otherwise not one would have survived to tell the tale. This fierceness of the barbarians was aroused by the deaths of their comrades during former inroads, and because their women and children had been sold to merchants to be taken out of the country. They perpetrated this deed after having submitted for more than fifty years, been baptised, and lived under priests who instructed them in religion. It was the first time that they burnt

the churches, making a great destruction of images of saints, and breaking them to pieces with sacrilegious hands. Ten days after this event the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived at the port of the city with a reinforcement of three hundred men, which his Excellency had sent from Peru to succour those cities. He lost there a son and a daughter, young children, whom he had left in charge of his sister-in-law, and who had been taken in this attack with the rest. As soon as he beheld the lamentable destruction of the city, he disembarked his people with great bravery, to go in aid of the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and the ill-fated Imperial, of which nothing was known save that a year before it had been surrounded by the enemy. It was reported that all were dead of hunger, having eaten the dead horses, and afterwards the dogs, cats, and skins of animals. This news was obtained from a messenger who was sent down the river by those in the city, praying for help, with mournful complaints from those unhappy people. After the said colonel had disembarked, he determined first to relieve the city of Osorno, because he knew that the enemy, after assaulting the city of Valdivia, would march to the city of Osorno to treat it in the same manner. The colonel gave assistance to Osorno, and did other good service. At the hour that I write this, news has arrived that the people of Imperial all perished of hunger, after a siege which lasted a year. Twenty men only escaped, whose fate was more hard than that of their dead companions, for, driven by hunger, they passed over to the side of the Indians. In Angol they killed four soldiers, but it is not known who they were. Our Lord have mercy upon us. Amen."

"Santiago de Chile, March 1600."

All the above intelligence arrived in Peru from the kingdom of Chile, and caused great sorrow throughout the country. Besides which, the Father Diego de Alco-

basa,[1] whom I have already mentioned, in a letter which he wrote to me in the year 1601, among other things which he told me concerning that empire, uses these words touching the kingdom of Chile :—

"Chile is in very evil case, and the Indians are so expert and experienced in war, that there is not one who has not got a lance and a horse, and is not ready to attack any Spanish soldier, how valiant soever he may be. Every year troops are sent there from Peru ; and many go, but none ever return. The Indians have taken two towns inhabited by Spaniards, and have killed all they found, carrying off the poor women and children, after first killing their fathers

[1] Diego de Alcobasa was a half-caste, born at Cuzco. His father Juan de Alcobasa, married an Indian girl, and he had an estate called Surihualla, on the site of the Ynca's aviary, a league south of Cuzco. He was a great friend of the elder Garcilasso de la Vega, and brought up his son, the young Ynca, who was born in the same house with Diego. They were afterwards schoolfellows together at Cuzco. Juan de Alcobasa was a quiet, peaceable man, of blameless life, and took care of the family of the warlike Garcilasso, while he was engaged in civil wars. On one occasion, when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Cuzco and Garcilasso was of the opposite faction, the two Alcobasas, with the young Ynca Garcilasso and his mother and sister, were blockaded in a house, and well-nigh starved. In 1560 the Ynca Garcilasso went to Spain, and his old schoolfellow Diego de Alcobasa afterwards became a Jesuit priest and was actively engaged in preaching to the Indians, in which work he had great success, owing to his knowledge of the native languages. But the schoolfellows never forgot their old friendship, and constantly corresponded. When the Ynca undertook his great work, Diego de Alcobasa sent him much valuable information. Doubtless we often unconsciously owe thanks to him for important facts, though the Ynca only occasionally remembers to mention his indebtedness. The account of the Tiahuanaco ruins was obtained from Alcobasa (vol. i, p. 211), as well as the news from Chile given above. Early in 1603 Alcobasa also sent his old friend a *Confesionario*, which he had prepared and printed at Lima in 1585, in Spanish, in the language of the Yncas (called Quichua), and in the language of the Collas (improperly called Aymara). Garcilasso criticises it in his second part. See I, lib. v, cap. 10; Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 23; and Pte. II, lib. v. cap. 10. The *Confesionario* of Alcobasa is very scarce. I have never seen a copy, nor had Von Tschudi. *Kechua Sprache*, i, p. 26.

and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Ynca,[1] who came forth from Villcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Alcobasa, besides other sad news that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven ducats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Granada, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Sacred College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

"Of the Rebellion of the Araucos.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the faith

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Ynca Manco, by Nusta Cusi Huarcay, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is a picture of the bride and bridegroom in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed in an ambuscade by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess, named Lorenza, was created Marchioness of Oropesa, and married Don Juan Henriquez de Borja, of the House of Gandia.

and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater havock and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and deceitful artifices, and surrounded the city of Osorno. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continuously besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and nuns to carry them off as captives. But, being covetous over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and nuns, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villarica, when many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well connected. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the good Ynca Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.

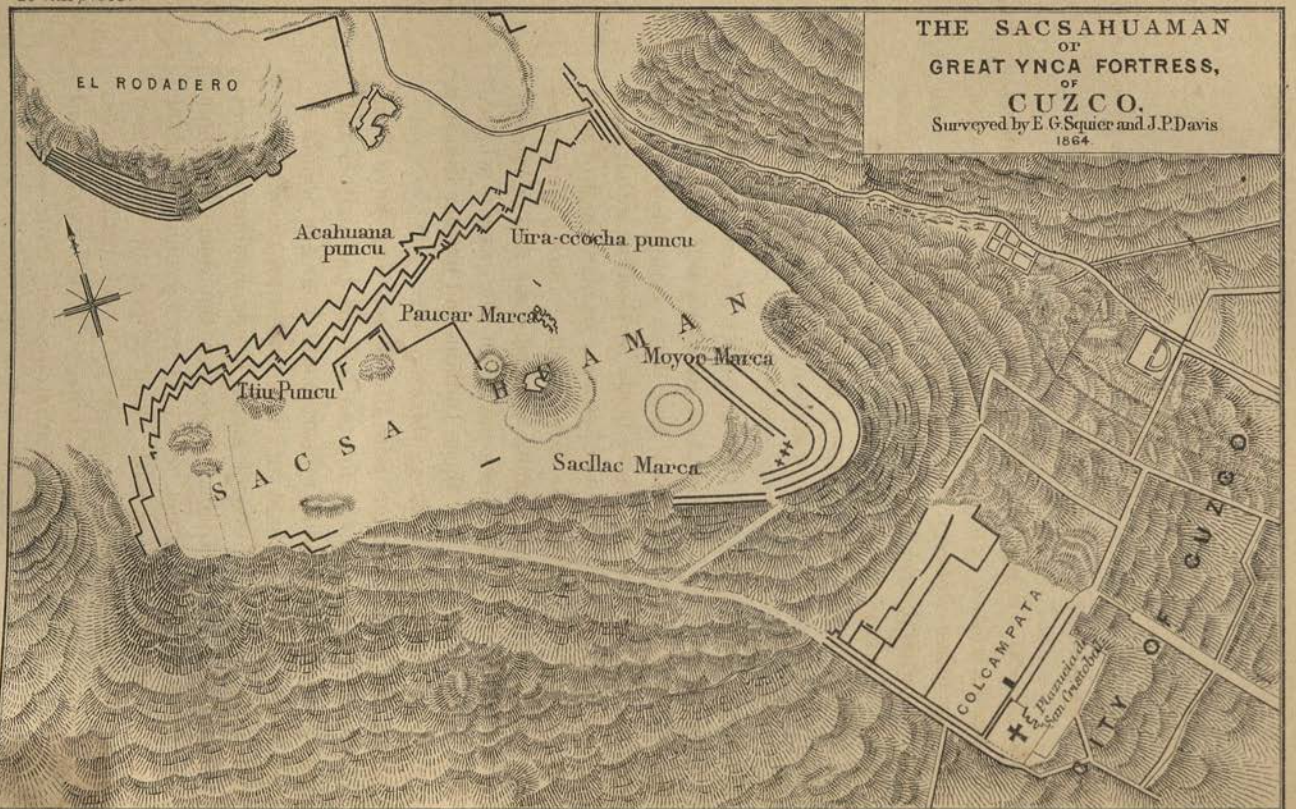
CHAPTER XXVI.

QUIET LIFE AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE KING YNCA YUPANQUI, UNTIL HIS DEATH.

The King Ynca Yupanqui having arranged the affairs of the provinces which his captains had conquered in the kingdom of Chile, as well regarding their idolatry as touching the government of the vassals, and the revenues of himself and of the Sun; he made an end of the conquest of new territory, seeing that the provinces acquired by himself and his captains were extensive, and that his empire was more than a thousand leagues in length. He, therefore, resolved to pass the rest of his life in regulating and ennobling his kingdoms and lordships. He ordered, in memory of his deeds, that many fortresses should be built, as well as new and grand edifices for temples of the Sun, and houses for the chosen virgins, and for the king, and depôts, both for royal use and for the people. He also ordered great irrigation works and many terraces to be constructed. He added riches to those already collected in the temple of the Sun at Cuzco; for, though the house no longer required it, he thought it right to adorn it as much as possible to show himself to be a son of him who was his Father. In fine, there was nothing that his ancestors had done to ennoble the empire, which he did not do. He especially occupied himself in the construction of the fortress at Cuzco, which his father had left unfinished, having collected enormous quantities of stones or rocks for that famous edifice, as we shall presently see. The Ynca visited his provinces, to see the requirements of the people and apply remedies; which he did with such care, that he deserved the title of pious. In the exercise of these duties, in which he was lovingly assisted by his people, the Ynca passed several years of

perfect peace. At last he fell sick; and, feeling his end approaching, he sent for his heir and his other sons; and, in place of a will, he charged them to preserve the idolatry, and their laws and customs, and to administer justice to the people, working for their good. He then told them that his Father the Sun had called him to come and rest in heaven. Thus he died full of good and great deeds, having enlarged his empire more than five hundred leagues towards the south, from Atacana to the river Maulli, and towards the north more than a hundred and forty leagues along the coast, from Chincha to Chimu. He was mourned for with much sincerity. They celebrated his obsequies for one year, according to the custom of the Yncas. They placed him tenth in the number of their gods, children of the Sun, because he was the tenth king, and they offered him many sacrifices. His heir and universal successor was his first-born son, by his wife and sister Ccoya Chimpu Ocllo, named Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. The proper name of this queen was Chimpu, the name Ocllo being a sacred title among them, and not a name. He left many other sons and daughters, both legitimate and illegitimate. It is said that they exceeded two hundred and fifty, which is not many, considering the number of chosen women that these kings had in each province. As this king began the construction of the fortress of Cuzco, it will be well to place the account of it here, to follow the life of its founder, that it may form a trophy of the trophies, not merely of his reign, but of those of his ancestors and successors. For this work was so grand that it alone would render all these kings famous.

To face p. 305.


THE SACSAHUAMAN
OR
GREAT YNCA FORTRESS,
OF
CUZCO.
Surveyed by E. G. Squier and J. P. Davis
1864
EL RODADERO
Acahuana puncu
Uira-ccocha puncu
Paucar Marca
Moyoc Marca
Ttiu Puncu
SACSAHUAMAN
Sacllac Marca
COLCAMPATA
Parroquia de San Cristóbal
CITY OF CUZCO

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FORTRESS OF CUZCO. THE SIZE OF ITS STONES.

The Yncas, Kings of Peru, built wonderful edifices, whether fortresses, temples, gardens, palaces, store-houses, roads, or other works. All excelled, as may still be seen by their ruins, though these remains give but an inadequate idea of the complete edifice.

The grandest and most superb work that they ordered to be built, to show their power and majesty, was the fortress of Cuzco. Its magnificence would be incredible to those who have not seen it, and even those who have gazed upon it with attention, are induced to imagine, and even to believe, that such works must have been completed by enchantment, and that they were made by demons rather than by men. For the multitude of stones, so many and of such size, that are placed on the three circling lines (being more like rocks than stones), excite astonishment and wonder as to how they could have been cut from the quarries whence they were brought. For these Indians had neither iron nor steel for cutting and working the stones.

It is an equal wonder how the stones can have been brought from the quarry, for the Indians had neither bullocks nor carts. Besides, no cart could bear the weight of such stones, neither could any bullocks draw them. They were drawn by the force of men's hands, hauling at stout cables passed round them. Moreover, the roads by which they were brought did not pass over level ground, but over very rugged mountains with steep slopes, up and down which the stones were dragged by sheer manual force. Many were brought from distances of ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues, especially that stone,—or, more properly

speaking, that rock,—which the Indians call *sayccusca*,[1] or "tired", because it never reached the site of the edifice. It is known that this stone was brought from a distance of fifteen leagues from the city, and that it was transported across the river Yucay, which is little smaller than the Guadalquivir at Cordova. Those that came from the nearest point were brought from Muyna, which is five leagues from Cuzco. But to pass onwards with the imagination, and to think how they could adjust such enormous stones, so that the point of a knife can scarcely be inserted between them, would be never to end. Many of the stones are so placed that the point of contact can scarcely be seen. It must have been necessary to raise and lower the stones a great number of times before such perfect adjustment could have been attained. For they had neither square nor ruler to put on the top of a stone, and see if it was correctly set for receiving another. Moreover, they had no cranes nor pulleys, nor any engine whereby to lift and lower the stones, which were so enormously large as to excite astonishment. The Father José de Acosta, speaking of this same fortress, says the same. He took the exact measurement of the size of many of the stones, and I intend, therefore, to refer to this illustrious person as my authority. For though I asked my schoolfellows to send me these particulars, and they have done so, their report is not so clear and precise as I could wish, as regards the size of the larger stones. I wanted the exact measurements by *varas*[2] and *ochavas*,[3] and not by *brazas*,[4] as they have sent them. I also wanted their measurements to be attested by notaries; for the most wonderful part of that edifice is the incredible size of the stones and the extraordinary labour that was necessary for

[1] Participle of *Sayccuni*, "I tire".

[2] A *vara* is a Spanish yard, equal to 32·89 English inches.

[3] An *ochava* is the eighth of a *vara*.

[4] A *braza* is equal to nine *palmos*. A *palmo* is equal to 8·346 inches.

raising and lowering them, until they were adjusted as we now see them. It is impossible to understand how this can have been effected, with no other means than that of men's arms.

The Father Acosta, in the fourteenth chapter of his sixth book, writes as follows:—

"The edifices and works which the Yncas executed in the form of fortresses, temples, roads, houses, and others, were numerous, and required great labour, as may be seen from the ruins that remain at Cuzco, Tiahuanaco, and Tambo, and in other parts where there are stones of immense size. It is difficult to imagine how they cut, drew, and placed them where they now are. A vast number of people must have assisted from all the provinces, in building these edifices and fortresses which the Yncas ordered to be erected at Cuzco, and in different parts of the kingdom. The work is strange and wonderful. They used no mortar, and had no iron nor steel for cutting and working the stones, nor machines and instruments for dragging them. Yet, in spite of all this, they are so smoothly worked that, in many places, it is scarcely possible to see the point of junction between two stones. Many of the stones are so large that it is incredible to anyone who has not seen them. I measured one stone in Tiahuanaco, which was thirty-eight feet long, eighteen wide, and six deep. In the wall of the fortress of Cuzco there are many of much greater size.[1] But the thing which most excites astonishment is, that the stones of this wall, though not cut by rule, and of very unequal size, fit into each other with incredible exactness, without mortar. All this must have been done by sheer force of many people, and with much hard work; for, to fit one stone into another, it must have been necessary to try it many times, most of them not being either equal or even."

The above are all the words of Father Acosta, taken word

[1] A gross exaggeration.

for word: by which may be seen the difficulties that were overcome in building that fortress; seeing that they neither had machines nor instruments to help them.

It would seem from this work, that the Yncas wanted to display their grandeur and power, by the contemplation of the majesty and immensity of their edifices, which must have been constructed as much for the sake of admiration as with any other object. They also intended to show the ingenuity of their masters and artificers, not only in the work of their smooth masonry (which the Spaniards cannot excel), but also in their rough stone-work, in which they did not show less dexterity than in the other. They also aspired to prove themselves to be warriors in the plan of the edifice, giving to each position what is necessary for defence against enemies.

They erected the fortress on a lofty hill to the north of the city, called Sacsahuaman, on the skirts of which the buildings of Cuzco commence and extend on all sides over a considerable space. This hill (on the side towards the city) is almost perpendicular, so that in that direction the fortress is secure, as no enemy could approach either formed in squadrons or in any other way, nor is there any position, on that side, where artillery could be planted, though the Indians had no knowledge of such an arm, until the arrival of the Spaniards. By reason of the natural security on that side, it appeared that any defensive work would suffice, and accordingly they only erected a thick wall of cut stone highly worked on all five sides, but not on the rear, as the masons term it. This wall was more than two hundred *brazas* in length. Each course of stones was of a different height, and all the stones of one course were of equal size, and placed by courses, in a very workmanlike way. They were so adjusted by all four parts one to the other, that they did not require mortar. It is true that they did not make mortar of lime and sand, because they did not know how to

make lime. But they used for mortar a mixture of red clay, which is very sticky. With this they could fill up the minute inequalities which were left in working the stone. In this wall both strength and neatness of finish are displayed; for the wall is thick, and the work very accurate in all parts.[1]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE THREE WALLS OF THE ENCEINTE, THE MOST ADMIRABLE PART OF THE WORK.

Opposite to this wall, on the other side, there is a wide plain in front of the hill, and in that direction the ascent is very gradual and an enemy might approach, formed in squadrons. Here they constructed three walls, one in front of the other, on the slope of the hill. Each wall is more than two hundred *brazas* in length.[2] They form a half moon, in order to close in and join the other wall which overhangs the city.[3] In the first of the three walls they sought to dis-

[1] The portion of the works overlooking the town now consists of three walls, of a light-coloured, coarse-grained sandstone, built in half-circles round the summit. The diameter is fifty yards. The lower wall is fourteen feet high. Then there is a terrace eight feet wide. The second wall is fourteen feet high. The third wall is much ruined. Above it there are many hewn stones lying about, and here stand the three crosses which are conspicuous objects from the city.

[2] I know not how long Garcilasso's *brazas* may have been, but he certainly underrates this distance. The length of the outer wall is exactly four hundred yards, by my measurement. There is a flanking wall at the extreme western end of the position, which is forty-three yards long.

[3] They do not form a half-moon, but are nearly straight. They are, however, connected with the works overhanging the town by a single flanking wall. The three walls each have twenty-two salient and retiring angles. The height of the first wall is eighteen, of the second sixteen, and of the third fourteen feet, more or less, but varying slightly with the inequality of the ground.

play the extent of their power. For though all three are constructed in the same way, the first is the grandest, and contains those enormous stones which make the edifice incredible to those who have not seen it, and wonderful to those who have examined it with attention, when they consider well the size and number of the stones and the few appliances these people had for cutting, working, and adjusting them.

It is my opinion that the stones were not hewn out of quarries, because they have not the appearance of having been cut; but that the Indians brought loose rocks, such as the quarry-men call boulders, which may be found in those mountains suitable for the work. For some have convex surfaces, others concave, and others oblique. Some are with points at the corners, and others without them. These faults were not removed nor levelled, but the hollow or concavity of one enormous rock was filled by the convexity of another as large and grand, if one such could be found. In the same way the obliquity or straightness of one, was fitted to the same shape in another. The angle which was wanting in one rock was made up for in another; not by filling up the fault with a small stone, but by fitting another rock to it which had a fault in an opposite direction, and would thus complement the other. Thus it seems that the object of the Indians was not to build that wall with any small stones, even for the purpose of making up defects in large ones, but that all might be of equally admirable grandeur, each one fitting into its neighbour, and each supplying the other's defects, for the greater majesty of the edifice.[1] And this is what Father Acosta enlarged upon, saying:—

[1] My measurements of some of the stones of the outer wall are as follows:—

I. Great stone in the eighth salient angle from the west, ten feet high by six broad.

II. Great stone in the ninth salient angle from the west (the angle

"That which most excites admiration is that the stones of the wall, not being cut by rule, but being of very unequal relative size, they yet fit one to the other with incredible nicety, and without mortar. Though they are placed without order, rule, or compass, yet in all parts they are as well fitted one to the other as regular masonry. The outer surface of these rocks is roughly worked; indeed, they are left almost in the same state as when they were found. Only where they join each other the Indians worked and dressed each rock for a width of four fingers, and this part is very well executed. Thus, the roughness of the exterior surface, the smoothness of the points of junction, and the general irregularity of these rocks combine to form a picturesque and handsome work."

A priest, a native of Montilla, who was in Peru after I left for Spain, and returned after a short visit, speaking of this fortress, and particularly of the enormous size of the stones, said to me that, before he saw them, he could not believe that they were so large as he had been told. But, he continued, after he had seen them, they appeared to him to be even larger than general report had described them. Then there arose in his mind a still more puzzling doubt, which was, whether it was possible to put them in their positions without the aid of the devil. Assuredly he was right in considering that the work of placing them in their positions was so difficult as to make it hard to understand how it was effected, even with the aid of all the engines, and with the guidance of the best masters there are in this country. How much more difficult would it be without such aid; since this work excels those seven, of which they write as being the seven wonders of the world. For, to make a

being 85 degs.), sixteen feet six inches high by six feet one inch broad.

III. An inner stone, also in the ninth salient angle, fourteen feet by eight.

IV. Great stone in the eleventh salient angle from the west (the angle being 90 degs.), fourteen feet high by twelve.

The stones in the second and third walls are smaller.

wall as long and broad as that of Babylon, or a colossus of Rhodes, or the pyramids of Egypt, and the others, it can easily be seen how such works were accomplished, by assembling multitudes of people, and adding material to material, day by day and year by year. Then they were of brick or plaster like the wall of Babylon, or of bronze and copper as the colossus of Rhodes, or stone and mortar like the pyramids. In short, it is easy to see how they were done, by means of the skill of the people and unlimited time, which conquered all obstacles. But it cannot be conceived how these Indians, without proper engines or tools, could work, dress, raise and lower enormous rocks (which are more like pieces of a mountain than the stones of an edifice), and fix them so accurately in their places. Thus it is that the work is put down to enchantment, due to the great familiarity these people had with devils.

In each wall, nearly in the centre, there was an opening, and each wall had a door capable of being raised up, of the width and height of the doorway which it closed. The first was called *Ttiu-puncu*, which means "the gate of sand," because that part is rather sandy, the sand being powdered stone. *Ttiu* is a word meaning a sandy place, as well as sand; and *puncu* means a door. They called the second *Acahuana-puncu*, because the chief architect had that name. The syllable *ca* is pronounced in the interior of the throat.[1] The third was called *Uira-ccocha-puncu*, and was consecrated to their god Uira-ccocha, that spectre of whom we have spoken at large, which appeared to the Prince Ynca Uira-ccocha, and gave him the news of the rising of the Chancas. Hence he was looked upon as the new founder of the city of Cuzco, and as such they gave his name to that door, praying to him that he would be the guardian and defender of the fortress, as he had been, in times past, of the city and the whole empire. Between the walls, along their entire length, there was an interval of twenty-five or thirty feet, which is

[1] It should be *cca*.

levelled to the top of each wall.[1] I do not know whether these terraces are part of the original hill which rises in this way, or whether they are artificial; but they must be either one or the other. Each wall formed an inner breastwork, above these terraces, more than a yard in height,[2] whence men could fight with more protection than if they were exposed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE THREE TOWERS. THE CHIEF ARCHITECTS. THE "TIRED STONE."

Within the three walls there is a long narrow space, where there were three strong towers in a prolonged triangle, conforming to the shape of the ground. They called the chief and central tower *Moyoc Marca*, which means a round fortress, because it was built in a circular form. In it there was an abundant fountain of excellent water, brought from a distance underground. The Indians know not whence the water comes. The traditions of such secrets were handed down by the Yncas and their councillors. The kings lodged in that tower when they visited the fortress. All its walls were adorned with gold and silver, in the shape of animals, birds, and plants imitated from nature and inlaid on the walls, thus serving as a tapestry. There were also many vases, and all other things that we have already described as appertaining to a royal palace.

They called the second tower *Paucar-marca*, and the third *Sacllac-marca*.[3] Both were square, and they con-

[1] The width of the first terrace, from angle to angle, is ten yards; my measurement agreeing well with that of Garcilasso. That of the second or upper terrace is eight yards; also agreeing well with the Ynca.

[2] These parapets no longer exist.

[3] The towers have long since disappeared. There are some deep exca-

tained lodgings for the soldiers forming the garrison, who were relieved in regular succession. They must have been Yncas by privilege, as the soldiers of other nations were not allowed to enter the fortress, it being a House of the Sun for arms and war, as the Temple was for prayers and sacrifices. The fortress had its Captain-General or Alcaide, who was an Ynca of the blood royal and legitimate. He had his lieutenants and officials for each department, some for the command of the soldiers, and others for the superintendence of the provisions, of sanitary arrangements, and of the efficiency of arms, clothing, and shoes which were in store for the use of the garrison.

Below the towers there was an equal space excavated underground; and the vaults communicated from one tower to another. Great skill was shown in the construction of these subterranean passages. They were built with so many streets and lanes, crossing each other in all directions, and making so many turns, that one might easily be lost as in a labyrinth, and not know how to get out. It was necessary even for those who knew the place to have a guide, consisting of a skein of wool, one end of which was left fastened to the door, so as to return by following it as a clue. When I was a little boy, with others of my own age, I often went up to the fortress. All the buildings above-ground were then in ruins, and much of the subterraneous work also; but we did not enter the vaults that were left, further than the light of the sun could reach, for fear of losing ourselves, owing to the terror that the accounts of the Indians had caused us.

The Indians did not know how to make an arched vault. They left corbels in the subterranean passages, on which, in place of beams, they put long stones, worked on all six sides, and accurately placed, which reached from one wall to the other. The whole of that great edifice of the fortress was of

vations on the top of the hill, and some rough trenches cut in the ground towards the eastern end.

rough and smooth masonry, beautifully worked with great dexterity. Here the Yncas displayed all their knowledge and power, with the desire that, in workmanship and splendour, this edifice should excel all that had hitherto been erected, and be the trophy of their trophies, as it was the last. For soon after it was finished the Spaniards entered that country, and put an end to other great works which were in course of construction.

Four chief architects were employed upon the work of the fortress. The first and principal, to whom is attributed the general plan, was Huallpa Rimachi Ynca, and to show that he was the chief, they added the title of *Apu*, which means captain, or head of any department. Thus they called him Apu Huallpa Rimachi. The next was called Ynca Maricanchi. The third was Acahuana Ynca, to whom is also attributed a great part of the edifices at Tiahuanacu, of which we have already spoken. The fourth and last of the architects of the fortress was named Calla Cunchuy. In his time they brought the "tired stone," and the chief architect himself gave it that name, that it might be held in memory; for its size, as well as that of the rest which are its equals, is incredible.

I will stop here to give the exact measurement of its thickness and height, which was sent me by those who had seen it.[1] The stone lies in the plain before the fortress.

[1] Which, however, he forgets to do. I suspect that the old Ynca's memory was at fault altogether about the "*tired stone*". Further back, he speaks of its having been conveyed across the river of Yucay. Now, this is true only of the "*tired stone*" near Ollantay-tombo; for the quarry is on the same side of the river as Cuzco. I suspect, therefore, that it is of the Ollantay-tambo "*tired stone*" that he is thinking. The Ollantay-tambo "*tired stone*" is seven hundred and eighty yards from the ascent to the ruins, by the side of the road, down stream, and nearly opposite the quarry. It had been brought across the river, and then abandoned. It is twenty feet four inches long, fifteen feet two inches broad, and three feet six inches thick. It is known as the "*sayccusca rumi*". There is another only five hundred and seventy yards from the ruins, which is nine feet eight inches long, seven feet eight inches broad, and four feet

The Indians say that, owing to the severe labour it endured on the road until it reached this point, it became tired, wept blood, and was unable to reach the fortress. The stone is not dressed, but rough as it was taken from the quarry. A great part of it is under the ground. They tell me that it is now more covered than it was when I left the country. For they imagined that there was great treasure under it, and they dug as deep as they could to reach the treasure. But before they could come at it they had buried that great rock and concealed a great part of its size. Thus most of it is now under the ground. At one of its upper corners, or two if I am not mistaken, there are holes passing from one side to the other, and the Indians say that these are the places out of which it wept blood. The truth is, that the dust collected in the holes, mixed with rain-water, and formed a mixture which flowed over, and was somewhat red, the soil being of a reddish colour. The Indians say that the red mud is what is left of the blood when the stone wept. I have heard them repeat this fable many times.

The historical truth, as related by the Ynca Amautas, who were the wise philosophers and doctors in the time of their idolatry, is that more than twenty thousand Indians dragged the stone with stout cables. They proceeded with great difficulty, as the road was very rough, and passed up and down many steep mountains. Half the people hauled upon the cables in front, while the other half held on behind to prevent it from fetching way down the hills, and falling into places whence it could not be got out. In one of these steep places (where, through carelessness, they were not all hauling with equal force) the weight of the stone overcame the force of those who held it, and it slipped down the hill, killing three or four thousand Indians who were guiding it. Notwithstanding this disaster, they raised it up, and brought it to the place where it now lies. The

two inches thick. It has a groove along one side, and six holes two to three inches deep.

blood thus shed is said to have been what it wept, because it never reached its place in the edifice. They say that it became tired and could not reach its place, because they were tired of dragging it. Thus they attributed all that happened to the Indians to the stone itself. They had many other fables of this kind which were handed down as traditions, that there might be a continuous memorial of the most noteworthy events which took place among them.

The Spaniards should have preserved the fortress, and even repaired it at their own cost, that future ages might see how great had been the valour of those who took it, of which it would have been an eternal memorial. But not only have they not maintained it; they have themselves dismantled it to build the private houses they have now in Cuzco. In order to save the cost, delay, and trouble which the Indians expend on preparing dressed stones for building, the Spaniards pulled down all the masonry walls within the circle of the fortress, and there is not a house in the city which has not been partly built with those stones, at least among those that the Spaniards have erected.

The long stones which served as beams in the subterranean passages were used for lintels and porches, and the smaller ones for walls and foundations. For the steps of their staircases they looked for the course of stones of the height they required, and, having found it, they pulled down all the courses above that which they wanted, even if there were ten, twelve, or more. In this way they brought down to the ground that majestic pile, which was worthy of a better fate, for its destruction will ever be a source of regret to those who examine it with attention. They pulled it down in such a hurry that even I only remember seeing the ruins which I have already mentioned. The three mighty outer walls were left, because the Spaniards could not move them, owing to their immense size. But I am told that they have since even destroyed a portion of these larger stones, seeking for the chain or cable of gold which was made by

Huayna Ccapac, there being a rumour that it had been buried there.

The good King Ynca Yupanqui commenced the building of this inadequately described fortress, although some would have it that it was begun by his father Pachacutec. They say this because he left a plan for it and a completed model, and collected a great number of stones and rocks, for there is no other material in that work. It took fifty years to complete it, and it was not finished until the time of Huayna Ccapac. The Indians even say that it was never finished, because the "tired stone" had been brought for another great work connected with the fortress, which it was intended to erect. But these works, with many others throughout the empire, were cut short by the civil wars which broke out soon afterwards between the two brothers Huascar Ynca and Atahuallpa, in whose time the Spaniards arrived, and destroyed everything; and so all the unfinished works remain unfinished to this day.[1]

[1] See the note in my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 322-25. Mr. Squier, in his able and suggestive little pamphlet on the *Primeval Monuments of Peru*, speaks of the Sacsahuaman fortress at Cuzco, as "one of the most imposing monuments of the kind in America or the world, which claims to rank with the pyramids themselves as an illustration of human power." Mr. Fergusson says that the stones are "arranged with a degree of skill nowhere else to be met with in any work of fortification anterior to the invention of gunpowder. To use a modern term, it is a fortification *en tenaille;* the re-entering angles are generally right angles, so contrived that every part is seen, and as perfectly flanked as in the best European fortifications of the present day. It is not a little singular that this perfection should have been reached by a rude people in Southern America, while it escaped the Greeks and Romans, as well as the mediæval engineer. The true method of its attainment was never discovered in Europe, until it was forced on the attention of military men by the discovery of gunpowder. Here it is used by a people who never had an external war, but who, nevertheless, have designed the most perfectly planned fortress we know."—*History of Architecture*, ii, p. 780.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

EIGHTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IN WHICH ARE RECOUNTED THE NUMEROUS CONQUESTS MADE BY TUPAC YNCA YUPANQUI, THE ELEVENTH KING; AND THE THREE MARRIAGES OF HIS SON HUAYNA CCAPAC, AS WELL AS THE DEATH AND TESTAMENT OF THAT KING. IT DESCRIBES THE TAME AND WILD ANIMALS, THE PLANTS, FRUITS, AND BIRDS, THE FOUR FAMOUS RIVERS, THE PRECIOUS STONES, GOLD AND SILVER, AND ALL THE PRODUCTS OF THAT EMPIRE BEFORE THE SPANIARDS ARRIVED THERE.

IT CONTAINS TWENTY-FIVE CHAPTERS.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PROVINCE OF HUACRACHUCU, AND THE MEANING OF ITS NAME.

THE great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui (whose name of *Tupac* means "He who shines" or "makes resplendent", the great deeds of that prince having earned him such a name) assumed the crimson fringe on the death of his father, and, having observed the funeral and other ceremonies and sacrifices which were performed on the deaths of their kings, in which he passed the first year of his reign, he set out to visit his kingdoms and provinces. This was the first act of a new king on his accession, and it was done that he might know and be known and loved by his vassals, and that as well the towns in common, as each inhabitant in particular, might approach nearer to represent their needs. It was also done that the governors, judges, and other ministers might not become careless or tyrannical owing to the absence of the Ynca. In this journey he passed upwards of four years, and having completed it and left his people well satisfied with his goodness and benevolence, he ordered forty thousand warriors to be assembled for the following year, to continue the conquests which his ancestors had left incomplete. For the chief glory of these Yncas, by which they concealed their ambitious motives, was to declare that they were moved by zeal to liberate the Indians from the inhuman and bestial life they led, and reduce them to a

moral and political condition, and to a knowledge and worship of their father the Sun, whom they declared to be God.

The army being raised, and the government of the city being confided to a lieutenant, the Ynca marched to Cassamarca, in order thence to enter the provinces of Chachapuya which, according to Blas Valera, means "a place of strong men". It is to the east of Cassamarca, and was peopled by a numerous race of brave men and very beautiful women. These Chachapuyas worshipped serpents, and had the bird called *Cuntur* as their principal God. Tupac Ynca Yupanqui desired to include this province in his empire because of its fame. It then contained forty thousand inhabitants. Its situation is extremely mountainous and rugged.

These Chachapuya Indians wear, as a distinguishing head-dress, a sling, by which they are known from other Indians. Their sling is different from those of other tribes, and is the principal arm they use in war, like the ancient people of Majorca.

Before reaching the province of Chachapuya, there is another called Huacra-chucu, which is extensive, very mountainous, and inhabited by a fierce and warlike race. They wear, as a distinguishing head-dress (or they did, for now all things are in confusion), a black woollen cord with white tassels at the sides, surmounted by the horn of a deer. Hence they were called Huacra-chucu, which means "a horn head-dress or hat". For *chucu* means "a head-dress", and *huacra* "a horn". The Huacra-chucus worshipped serpents before they were subjugated by the Yncas, and they had them painted, as idols, in their temples and houses.

It was necessary for the Ynca to conquer that province of Huacra-chucu first, before he could reach Chachapuya; and he, therefore, ordered his army to advance in that direction. The natives, emboldened by the rugged nature of their country, prepared to defend it. They were even

confident of victory; for it seemed to them that their position was impregnable. With this confident feeling they came forth to the passes, where fierce encounters took place, and many were killed on both sides. When the Ynca beheld this, it appeared to him and his Council that, if the war were carried on by fire and sword, it would be at the costs of much loss to his people, and total destruction to the enemy. He, therefore, after having occupied some strong passes, sent offers of peace and friendship, according to the custom of the Yncas. He called upon the enemy to consider that his object was more to do them good (as had been the case with all the other Indians whom his ancestors had conquered) than to subjugate them, or to secure any benefit that they could bring him. He assured them that they would not be deprived of any of their lands or possessions; but that, on the contrary, their estates would be improved by new irrigating channels and other works, and that their chiefs would be left in the enjoyment of the lordships they then possessed, and would only be required to worship the Sun and abandon their inhuman customs. The Huacrachucus discussed the terms of this message, and though many were of opinion that they should receive the Ynca as their lord, yet they were not agreed, because the younger men, who had less experience and were more numerous, were opposed to submission. So they continued the war with much fury, thinking that they would gain the victory, and resolved to die otherwise, since they had acted in opposition to the elders.

The Ynca, that the enemy might see that he had not proposed peace out of weakness, but from those motives of kindness and humanity which had always actuated his ancestors, ordered the war to be carried on with activity. He decided that the enemy should be attacked on many sides, and divided his army into squadrons, that they might weaken and distract the attention of the opposing forces. In their

second attack the Yncas conquered other passes, and so pressed upon the enemy that they resolved to ask for mercy. The Ynca received them with much clemency, according to the usual custom of those kings, and instructed his ministers to treat the Huacra-chucus as brothers. He ordered that their chiefs should be given plenty of fine cloth, called *compi;* while the coarser sort, called *auasca,* was distributed among the common people. He also supplied them with food, because their yearly stock had been wasted in the war; and thus they were well contented, and lost all fear of the punishment they expected for their stubborn opposition.[1]

The Ynca decided not to advance further during that summer, but to be satisfied for the present with having conquered a province so rugged, and inhabited by so warlike a people. He was also influenced in his decision by the fact that there are heavy rains in that country. He ordered his army to be lodged on the frontier, and that another twenty thousand men should be raised, in order that he might not be delayed so long in his next conquest as he had been in the last.

He ordered the newly subjugated people to be instructed in his vain religion, and in his laws and moral customs, that they might keep and observe them. He also gave directions for irrigation channels to be cut and for terraces to be made on the hill sides.[2] For it was a fertile country, though its resources had not hitherto been developed. The Indians acknowledged that all these things were greatly for their benefit.

[1] The Huacra-chucus lived on either side of the gorge of the Marañon. Here the river, about sixty yards in width, rushes between mountains whose summits are generally hid in clouds.

[2] Lieutenant Maw reports having seen numerous remains of these terraces on the road from Caxamarca to Chachapoyas.—*Journal*, pp. 43 and 50.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEST OF THE FIRST VILLAGES IN THE PROVINCE OF CHACHAPUYA.

As soon as the reinforcements arrived, the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui ordered his army to take the field, and march towards the province of Chachapuya. He sent a messenger in front according to the ancient custom of the Yncas, to give the people the choice between peace and war. The Chachapuyas resolutely answered that they had taken up arms to die in defence of their liberties, that the Ynca might do as he pleased, but that they had no desire to be his vassals.

Having heard the answer, the Ynca began a cruel war, which was carried on fiercely by both sides, and many were killed and wounded. The Yncas were resolved not to retreat. The Chachas (for they are also called by that name) were determined to die before they would yield any advantage to the invaders. This obstinacy was the cause of great mortality on both sides. The Chachas also had observed that the empire of the Yncas was approaching the frontiers of their province. It might more properly be called a nation; for it is fifty leagues long and twenty broad, not counting the part round Muyupampa, which is another thirty leagues in length. The Chachas had been preparing, for some years previously, to defend themselves, and had constructed many fortresses in very strong places, the ruins of which may still be seen. They had also closed up the narrow passes. Besides all this, the country is so rugged and difficult for travelling, that on some roads the Indians have to slide down ropes for heights of eight or ten men's lengths, there being no other way of passing.

The Yncas, owing to these difficulties, only gained a few

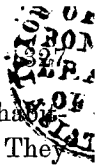
barricaded passes and fortresses at a cost of heavy loss to their people. The first were on an ascent which is two leagues and a half long, and is called the "Cuesta de Pias", because beyond it there is a village of that name. It is one of the principal places in the province, and is ten or eight leagues within the frontier, in the direction by which the Yncas were advancing. The whole of that space was traversed with great difficulty. The place was found to be abandoned; for, though it is in a strong position, the enemy had others more strongly fortified.

In Pias the Yncas found some useless old men and women who were unable to climb the mountains with the young people, together with many children whom their parents had been unable to take with them to their fortresses. The great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui ordered all these to be treated kindly.

From the village of Pias he advanced onwards, and on a pass of the snowy mountains called *Chirmac-cassa*,[1] which means "the harmful pass", because it causes much harm to those who cross it, three hundred chosen men of the Ynca's army, who had been sent in advance to reconnoitre, were frozen to death. For, suddenly, a great mass of snow fell and smothered them, so that not one escaped. Owing to this accident, the Ynca was unable to pass for several days, and the Chachapuyas, thinking that he paused from fear, spread the news all over the province that he was retreating before them.

When the fury of the snow-storm was passed, the Ynca continued his conquest, and advanced step by step, in the midst of great difficulties, to Cuntur-marca, which is another important village. There were many others left on either side of the road, which their inhabitants had fortified, and which, owing to the inaccessibility of their positions, it

[1] *Chirmay* is "harmful", but *cassa* is "ice". It should be the "harmful ice".



would have entailed great trouble to reduce. The inhabitants of Cuntur-marca made a desperate resistance. They were numerous and they fought bravely, continuing their resistance for many days. But in those days the power of the Yncas was such that resistance was hopeless, and the Chachas could look for no help but from their own valour and resolution. They were inundated by the numbers of their enemies who charged upon them, and at last they were obliged to submit to the will of the Ynca. He received them with his accustomed clemency, and gave them presents to re-insure them, as well as to let those, who still held out, know that they would be similarly treated.

The Ynca left ministers in Cuntur-marca to arrange the affairs of the country that had been gained up to that point; and advanced himself to occupy the villages and fortresses in front, which he did with less trouble and less loss of life.

For the other villages followed the example of Cuntur-marca and submitted, and those that made any resistance did so with less resolution than formerly. In this way the Ynca arrived at another principal village, called Caxamarquilla, which is eight leagues from Cuntur-marca, the intervening road being very rugged and covered with forest. In Caxamarquilla there was much fighting, for the village was inhabited by a numerous and warlike race. But after several encounters, in which the Chachas felt the power of the Yncas, considering that the greater part of the province was already conquered, they considered it to be best for them to submit also.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF OTHER VILLAGES, AND OF OTHER BARBAROUS NATIONS.

From Cassamarquilla the Ynca advanced to another important village called Papamarca, which means "the village of potatoes," because they grow very large there. The Ynca occupied that village as he had done the others. Thence he advanced for eight leagues, subduing all the villages he met with, until he came to one called Raymi-pampa, which means "the village of the principal festival of the Sun," called Raymi, of which we have given a long account in a separate chapter.[1] The Yncas gave it this name instead of its old one. For, as we have already stated, it was the custom of the Yncas to celebrate this festival in the best way they could when they were engaged in a campaign, while the high priest and the other Yncas who remained at Cuzco observed all the usual solemnities.

After taking the village of Raymi-pampa, the Ynca advanced to another, which was three leagues further on, called Suta. This he also occupied without difficulty, for the natives, seeing that the greater portion of the province was in the hands of the Ynca, no longer made any resistance. From Suta the army marched to another large village called Llauantu, which is the last considerable place in the province of Chachapuya. It also surrendered, seeing that defence was impossible, and thus the Ynca remained lord of all that great province. The principal villages in it are those I have mentioned, but there are a great number of smaller ones. The acquisition of this province was very difficult, and cost the lives of many of the Ynca's soldiers, as well on account of the rugged nature of the country, as because the inhabitants were valiant and courageous.

[1] See page 155.

From Llauantu the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui sent part of his army to subdue a province called Muyupampa,[1] whither the brave Ancohualla,[2] when he abandoned his lordship to avoid submission to the Ynca, had fled; as we related in the life of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. This province was within the country of the Antis, and the inhabitants of it, out of friendship, and without becoming vassals, acknowledged the superiority of the Chachas. It is nearly thirty leagues to the east of Llauantu.

The natives of Muyupampa, learning that all the province of Chachapuya was subject to the Ynca, submitted without difficulty, and promised to adopt the idolatry, laws, and customs of their conquerors. Their example was followed by the inhabitants of the province of Cascayunca, and others in that direction of less importance, all of which submitted to the Ynca with little or no hesitation. The Ynca provided for the worship of the Sun and the welfare of the new vassals. He ordered irrigation channels to be dug, new land to be brought under cultivation, and clothing to be distributed among the chiefs. He then rested his army until the following summer, causing large supplies to be brought from the neighbouring districts for his soldiers, and for the newly conquered people whose wars had given rise to scarcity.

The next summer Tupac Ynca Yupanqui marched, with forty thousand men, to the large and populous province of Huancapampa. This region was peopled by many different tribes, speaking different languages, living apart, without chiefs or villages, and waging continual war against each other in most barbarous fashion. For the object of their wars was not to secure the chiefship, as they had no chiefs;

[1] Moyobamba.

[2] See page 82. Also my translation of Cieza de Leon, page 280. Lieutenant Maw says that one of the present characteristics of the Moyobamba people is their love of liberty.

nor was it to conquer estates, for they had no property, going naked, and not knowing how to make clothes. As the prize of the victors, they seized the women and children of the vanquished, carrying off all they could find, while the men ate each other after the most savage fashion.

In their religion they were more barbarous than in their mode of life. Each tribe worshipped many gods, each household having its own. Some worshipped animals, others birds, plants, hills, fountains, rivers, each one the thing he saw before him; and they had great battles to decide which was the most powerful amongst their gods. Owing to the confusion in which they lived, it was very easy to conquer them. The only defence they made was to fly like beasts to the forests and rocky heights, where they tried to conceal themselves. But hunger brought most of them back, and they submitted to the service of the Ynca. Others, who were more fierce and brutal, remained to die of hunger in the wildernesses.

The King Tupac Ynca Yupanqui collected them with great diligence, and ordered masters to teach them to live in villages, to cultivate the land, to clothe their bodies, and to make irrigation channels, so that their province became one of the richest in Peru. Afterwards a temple of the Sun, a convent of virgins, and other edifices were built in this province; and the people were ordered to pull down their idols, and to worship the Sun as sole and universal God. They were prohibited from eating human flesh on pain of death, and priests and men learned in the laws and customs of the Yncas were appointed to instruct them. They proved to be so docile that in a short time they became civilised; and their two provinces of Cascayunca and Huancapampa were among the best in the empire of the Yncas.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONQUEST OF THREE VERY LARGE WARLIKE AND OBSTINATE TRIBES.

After the conquest of the great province of Huancapampa, it is not certainly known how many years elapsed before the Ynca advanced to subdue three other provinces which also contained many different tribes. But, unlike the former conquered tribes, these lived as civilised communities, and had their fortresses and villages, with a regular form of government. They periodically assembled to discuss measures for the general welfare, but they acknowledged no lord. By mutual agreement they elected governors for times of peace, and captains for war, whom they obeyed and respected while they were in office. These three provinces were called Cassa, Ayahuaca, and Callua. The Ynca, as soon as he arrived on their frontier, sent a demand that they should either receive him as their lord, or prepare for war. They answered that their determination was to die in defence of their liberty, and that they had never acknowledged a superior, and did not wish to do so. A very fierce war was then commenced, and the offers of peace and clemency made by the Ynca had no effect. The Indians replied that they would not receive those who wished to subjugate them, depriving them of their ancient liberties, that they demanded to be left in peace, which was the greatest favour the Ynca could do them. The inhabitants of the provinces assembled promptly and fought valiantly, killing many soldiers of the Yncas. On seeing this the Ynca vigorously pushed on the war with fire and sword, but the enemy suffered these things with great resolution, resolved to uphold their liberties. When the Yncas captured a few strong places, the enemy retreated to others, and

again to others and others, abandoning their own lands and houses, and their wives and children. For they preferred death in battle to slavery.

The Ynca gradually advanced into the country until the enemy were driven into a corner, where they fortified themselves, and prepared to die rather than surrender. Here they were so sorely pressed that they were in the last extremity, yet they continued firm in their determination. At last some of their captains, seeing that they would all perish without gaining anything, while other nations as free as themselves had submitted to the Ynca, brought on a discussion, and it was agreed that they would surrender. This was done, but not without a mutiny among their people. Eventually the people also followed the example of their captains, and the whole force submitted.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui received them kindly and grieved over their having forced him to drive them to extremities. He ordered them to be treated as if they were his own children, and as many had fallen in the wars so that the country was depopulated, he caused emigrants to be brought from other provinces to people and cultivate the land. As soon as he had arranged all necessary details, he returned to Cuzco, tired with the fatigues of these campaigns. He was, however, more troubled at the obstinacy and sufferings of the Indians than at any annoyance they had caused himself; and he often said that, if the provinces that remained to be conquered should take a bad example from the obstinacy of those nations, he would give up his intention of subjugating them for the present, and wait until they were better disposed to acknowledge the rule of the Yncas.

The great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui occupied some years in visiting his provinces, and in beautifying them with edifices, such as palaces, temples, fortresses, store-houses, irrigation channels, and convents; as well as in the construction of the royal roads of which we shall speak more in detail pre-

sently. He also paid great attention to the building of the fortress at Cuzco, which his father the Ynca Yupanqui had commenced.

After passing some years in these peaceful pursuits, the Ynca undertook the conquest of the provinces further north, in Chincha-suyu. He came to those called Huanucu, which were inhabited by many separate tribes making cruel wars upon each other. They lived scattered about in the open country without villages or government; and they had some fortresses in the mountains, to which the defeated tribes retired. The Ynca easily conquered these tribes by the exercise of his accustomed clemency; though, at the commencement of the invasion of their country, the Huanucu tribes showed themselves to be warlike, in several encounters. The captains of the Ynca punished them by severe treatment, putting many to death, but the Ynca repressed their severity by reminding them of the law instituted by the first Ynca Manco Ccapac, by which the Indians were to be brought under his rule through kindness and the conferring of benefits, and not by arms and blood.

The Indians, terrified on the one hand by this punishment, and moved on the other by the benefits and promises of the Ynca, were easily induced to submit to live in villages, and to receive the idolatry and government of the Yncas, who soon afterwards greatly ennobled this beautiful province of Huanucu. They made it the capital and head of many other provinces by reason of its fertility and charming climate. They built there a temple of the Sun, which was only done in the most important provinces, and as a great favour; and also a convent of virgins. As many as twenty thousand Indians were appointed by turn for the service of those establishments, and some even say that the number amounted to thirty thousand. Pedro de Cieza, in his eightieth chapter, says what follows concerning Huanucu, copied word for word:—"In Huanuco there was a fine royal

edifice, the stones of which were large, and very accurately set. This was the chief place in the provinces of the Andes, and near it there was a temple of the Sun, with many virgins and priests. It was so grand a place in the time of the Yncas, that thirty thousand Indians were set apart solely for its service. The overseers of the Indians had charge of the collection of tribute, and the people of the surrounding districts assisted the work at the palace with their services."[1]

We have related the conquest of Huanucu briefly, as we shall do that of the other provinces, unless a notable event offers itself; for I desire now to reach the end of the conquests of these kings, and to treat of the wars between Huascar and Atahuallpa, grandsons of the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui. We say, then, that in the following year the Ynca assembled a powerful army to conquer a great province called Cañari, the chief of many others, inhabited by a numerous and warlike people. As a distinguishing mark they wore their hair long, and tied it all up on the top of their heads, rolled and fastened in a knot. The more noble among them wore, as a head-dress, a hoop like a sieve, three fingers in height, through which were passed skeins of different colours. The poorer sort, and those who took less care for such matters, wore, in place of the sieve-like hoop, a calabash, and hence the other tribes called the Cañaris *Mati-uma*, which means "calabash head," by way of ridicule. In the time of the Yncas each Indian was known by his head-dress, which showed to what tribe or nation he belonged. In my time, also, they all wore their distinguishing badges, but now I am told that the custom has fallen into disuse.

Before they were conquered by the Yncas, the Cañaris went with scarcely any clothing, as well as their women;

[1] See my translation, page 284, and the note there, describing the present state of the ruins of the Huanuco palace.

although they all attended to what decency required. They had many chiefs and lords of vassals, some of them in alliance with each other. These were the least powerful, who formed a league to defend themselves against the great chiefs, who would otherwise have tyrannised over their weaker neighbours.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PROVINCE OF CAÑARI: ITS RICHES AND TEMPLE.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui marched to the province Cañari, and on the road he conquered another called Palta, whence they brought to the warm valley near Cuzco the wholesome and delicious fruit called *Palta*. The Ynca easily gained this province by conciliation and not by force of arms, although the people were warlike. But the kindness of princes can effect much. The Palta Indians distinguished themselves from their neighbours by flattening their heads. When a child was born they put a small board on its forehead and another on the back of its head, and tightened them a little each day, the child being always on its back. They did not take the boards off until the child was three years old. Their heads became very ugly, and it became the custom to call any Indian, who had a head flatter than usual, *Palta-uma* or "Palta head", as a term of opprobrium.

The Ynca passed onwards, leaving ministers to arrange the spiritual and temporal affairs of the province of Palta, and, on reaching the boundary of the Cañaris, he sent forward the usual demand that they should either submit or take up arms. There was some difference of opinion in the councils of the Cañaris; but, finally, they resolved to submit

to the Ynca, and to obey him as their lord; for they saw that resistance would be impossible by reason of their own feuds and divisions; so they went forth with much festivity to do him homage. The example of the first chiefs was imitated by the others, who submitted without opposition. The Ynca received them cordially and ordered clothes to be given them, which indeed they needed. He gave directions for their instruction in the worship of the Sun, and in the way of life instituted by the Yncas. Previously, the Cañaris had worshipped the Moon as their principal God, and large trees and remarkable stones, especially jaspars, as secondary deities. On learning the polity of the Yncas they adopted the worship of the Sun, and built a temple, a convent, and many palaces for the kings.

They made store-houses for the royal revenues and for his vassals; they extended cultivation and constructed irrigation works. In short the Yncas caused all things to be done in that province, as was the custom in others that were conquered. But in the Cañari province the works were more advantageous, because the soil and climate gave good returns for any work that was undertaken. The Cañaris appreciated these benefits, and were very good vassals, as appeared in the war between Huascar and Atahuallpa; although, when the Spaniards arrived, one of the Cañaris passed to their side, and his example induced them all to join the Spaniards and hate the Yncas, as we shall relate in its proper place. It is the way of the world to cry out—"Let him live that conquers".[1] Having completed the con-

[1] The loyalty of the Cañaris is mentioned further on (chapter 37 of the ninth book). But when the Spaniards arrived in Peru, one of the Cañari chiefs joined them, and was treated with so much favour that he induced the whole tribe to follow his example. He was baptised under the name of Don Francisco. From that time the Cañaris threw off all feelings of loyalty to the Yncas, and served the Spaniards very zealously as servants, spies, and even as executioners; showing the usual spite of renegades against all other Indians. Don Francisco Cañari, as the traitor

quest of the Cañaris, the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui was employed in arranging the affairs of the numerous tribes that are included under that name. To show them more favour, he assisted himself in teaching them his doctrines and laws. Much time was expended on this employment, that the people might be thoroughly pacified and settled under the new government. It was expected that the nations which were not yet subjugated, would receive tidings of these things and desire to be included in the empire of the Yncas. Among these nations there was one called Quillacu, a people so vile, cowardly, and pusillanimous, that they feared the loss of earth and water, and even of air. Hence a saying arose among the Indians, which was also adopted by the Spaniards, that such an one was Quillacu, meaning that he was a wretch. The Ynca gave special orders that these people were to pay a tribute in lice, with the intention of obliging them to clean themselves.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, and afterwards his son Huayna Ccapac, greatly favoured these provinces of the Cañaris, and that called Tumipampa, erecting palaces and other edifices, the walls of which were adorned with herbs, plants, and animals, imitated from nature in gold and silver. The doors were inlaid with plates of gold in which emeralds were set. They built a famous temple of the Sun, also covered with plates of gold and silver. For these Indians exerted them-

chief was called, lived at Cuzco, at the head of a large number of men of his tribe; and, during the civil wars of the Spaniards, they acted as spies for both sides. The Cañari chief Francisco murdered a son of Huayna Ccapac, named Felipe Ynca, the same young prince who was a schoolfellow of our author (see vol. i, p. 205), and had the insolence to marry his widow, who was very pretty. This caused great scandal among the unfortunate and then powerless Ynca family. The Cañaris became regular camp followers of the Spanish troops, and personal servants, so that the word was often used for an Indian servant or messenger. (See Parte II, lib. ii, cap. 25).

selves to beautify the dwellings of their kings, and so they expended all their treasure on the temples and palaces.

Pedro de Cieza, in his forty-fourth chapter, writes at large on the riches in these temples and royal palaces in the provinces of the Cañaris, as far as Tumipampa,[1] which the Spaniards call Tomebamba, though there is no necessity for changing the letters. Besides the above riches, he says that they had a vast quantity of treasure in jars, vases, and cups, and great store of rich clothing embroidered with silver work and *chaquiras*.[2]

He touches, in his history, upon many points concerning the conquests we have mentioned. The Spaniards give the name of *chaquira* to certain very small beads of gold, smaller than seed pearls. The Indians make these beads with such ingenuity and skill that the best silversmith that I knew in Seville, asked me how they were made. For, though they are so very small, their parts are soldered. I brought one to Spain, which they greatly admired. Having spoken at some length of the treasure in the provinces of the Cañaris, Pedro de Cieza continues as follows:—"In short, I cannot say anything that would not fall short of the truth in describing the riches of those royal palaces." And, speaking particularly of the edifices at Tumipampa, he says: "Some of the Indians pretend that most of the stones of which these buildings and the temple of the Sun are built, have been brought from the great city of Cuzco by order of the King Huayna Ccapac, and of the great Tupac Ynca, his father, by means of strong ropes. If this be true, it is a wonderful work, by reason of the great size of the stones and the length of the road."[3] The above is taken word for

[1] Montesinos says that the word is derived from *Tumi*, "a knife," and *Pampa*, "a plain", because it was the scene of a great battle between the Yncas and Cañaris (p. 205, T. Compans' ed.)

[2] *Chaquiras* were small beads of gold or silver.

[3] See my translation, p. 165.

word from that historian, and, though the passage seems to throw some doubt on the accounts of the Indians, owing to the grandeur of the work, yet I, as an Indian who knew the policy of the Indians, can affirm that it was so. For the Kings Yncas ordered the stones to be brought from Cuzco to show favour to that province, because, as I have often said before, the Indians looked upon stones or any other things that came from the imperial city as sacred. Thus, as it was a great favour to allow a temple of the Sun to be erected in any province, as it made the inhabitants of it citizens of Cuzco, it was a still greater favour for the Ynca to order that the stones should be brought from Cuzco; for then the edifices, not only resembled those of Cuzco, but were the very same, being built with the same materials. The Indians, in order to enjoy such honours, would think nothing of bringing the stones over so long and wearisome a road as that from Cuzco to Tumipampa, which must be little short of four hundred leagues in length, and so rugged that it would not be credible to anyone who had not travelled over it, so that I shall not repeat it here. The account given by the Indians to Pedro de Cieza, when they said that most of the stones of which those palaces were built were brought from Cuzco, was intended to show the great favour they received from those kings, and not as a complaint at the labour of having had to bring them from such a distance. This is clear from that author not having in any other part of his work mentioned a similar fact when writing on the subject of buildings. This suffices to show the grandeur and riches of these palaces and temples of the Sun in Tumipampa, as well as of those throughout Peru.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONQUEST OF MANY OTHER GREAT PROVINCES UP TO THE BORDERS OF QUITU.

Having made the above arrangements touching the affairs of the provinces of the Cañaris, the Ynca returned to Cuzco, where he passed some years in the administration of his kingdoms, performing the duties of a great prince.[1] But

[1] It was probably in one of these intervals of rest that Tupac Yupanqui caused the palaces and temples to be erected on the islands of lake Titicaca. Ramos, in his history of Copacabana, tells us that the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui became fond of these islands, and greatly enriched the edifices on them. He removed all the natives, and, that the temple of the Sun, in Titicaca, might be in charge of loyal people, he brought a certain number of families to live there, as *mitimaes*, from the following tribes of his empire:—

Hanan Cuzcos	Huamachucos	Chumpi-uilcas	Pacajes
Hurin Cuzcos	Huaylas	Pobrechilques	Yuncas
Yncas	Yauyus	Collaguas	Carangues
Chincha-suyus	Ancaras	Huvinas	Quillacas
Quitus	Quichuas	Canches	Chichas
Pastus	Mayus	Canas	Soras
Chachapuyas	Huancas	Quinuaharas	Copayapos
Cañaris	Anti-suyus	Lupacas	Colliyungas
Cayambes	Chancas	Capangos	Huanucus
Cassamarcas	Aymaras	Pucopucos	Huruquillas
Latos	Yanahuaras		

Thus nearly every tribe, in the whole extent of his vast empire, was represented on the sacred island of Titicaca; of which he made his kinsman Apu Ynca Sucsu, a grandson of the Ynca Uira-ccocha, governor. The doors of the temple were called *Puma-puncu* (having a lion carved on the stones), *Ccenti-puncu* (adorned with feathers), and *Pillcu-puncu* ("Door of hope"). Ramos says that the special sanctity of Titicaca arose from the sun having, after a darkness of some days, risen behind the island. He suggests that this was the day of the crucifixion. The descendants of the governor Apu Ynca Sucsu continued to live at Titicaca after the arrival of the Spaniards, and one of them, a pious convert, named Francisco Titu Yupanqui, carved the famous Virgin for the neighbouring church at Copacabana, which worked many miracles. See *Historia de Copacabana y de su milagrosa imagen de la Virgen por el*

the Ynca, following the example of the powerful who are ever ambitious to increase their power, thought it ill to lose much time in completing his conquests, and ordered a great army to be assembled on the borders of Tumipampa. Thence he commenced his new conquests, and gained many provinces up to the confines of the kingdom of Quitu. They extended over a little less than fifty leagues, and the most important were called Chanchan, Moca, Quesna, Pumallacta, which means "the land of lions"[1] (so-called because there were more there than in the neighbouring districts, and the people worshipped them as gods), Ticsampi, Tiu-cassa, Cayampi, Urcollasu, and Tincuracu, besides many others of less note. They were easy to conquer, most of them being thinly populated, with sterile soil, and very rude inhabitants, without chiefs, government, laws, or religion. Each man worshipped as god what appeared before his eyes, and many knew not what it was to worship at all. Thus they lived like beasts, scattered over the fields. The Yncas took much more trouble in teaching them than in conquering them. They were taught to make clothes and shoes, to cultivate and irrigate the ground, and to construct terraces. In all these provinces the Yncas built store-houses for the troops on the royal road. But they did not erect temples to the Sun, nor convents of virgins, by reason of the rude character of the inhabitants, from whom the Ynca exacted a special tribute of lice.

While the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui was engaged in the conquest and civilisation of these provinces, other nations to the westward, bordering on the district called by the Spaniards Puerto Viejo, sent ambassadors with presents, beseeching him to receive them as vassals and subjects, and

R. P. Fray Alonzo Ramos (1620). Ramos is quoted by Calancha in his *Cronica Moralizada*. Calderon de la Barca wrote a mystery play on the Virgin of Copacabana.

[1] The Ynca forgets. *Llacta* means a village.

to send his captains to teach them to build villages and cultivate the land that they might live like men; and they promised to be loyal vassals. The chief promoters of this embassy were those of the nation called Huancavillca. The Ynca received them affably, and ordered that all their requests should be granted.[1] He sent them masters to teach his religion and customs, and engineers to instruct them in the construction of irrigating channels, and in building villages. They afterwards killed these officers with much ingratitude for the benefits they had received, and contempt for the promises they had made to the Ynca, as Pedro de Cieza de Leon also relates. This event has reference to that which I have often stated in various parts of this history concerning the kindness and clemency of the Kings Yncas, and touching the things they taught to those Indians whom they conquered; and it seems well to repeat here, word for word, what Pedro de Cieza says on the same subject, that it may be seen that what I affirm of the Yncas is also stated by the Spanish historians. In the forty-seventh chapter, speaking of these provinces, he writes as follows:—

"Returning to the thread of my narrative, I have to say (according to what I have been given to understand by old

[1] Balboa says that Tupac Ynca Yupanqui himself marched into the country of the Huancavillcas, where he first saw the sea, on the shores of the gulf of Guayaquil. There he collected a large fleet of *balsas*, and embarked with a part of his army. He is said to have discovered two islands in the South Sea, called Haguachumbi and Ninachumbi; and to have brought from thence many black-skinned prisoners, much gold and silver, and a throne covered with the skin of an animal like a horse. Balboa adds that, in 1585, when Alonzo Niño was sailing from Mexico to Lima, he discovered a group of hilly islands, but did not land. These must have been the Galapagos, which are all volcanic. They are thirteen in number, the largest being sixty miles long by fifteen broad, and the highest part four thousand feet above the sea. They are inhabited by black lizards, three feet long, and gigantic tortoises. The Galapagos Islands are seven hundred miles from the South American coast, and it is possible, but not probable, that the Ynca may have reached them.

Indians who were captains under Huayna Ccapac) that, in the time of the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, his father, certain of his captains came with a force collected from the ordinary garrisons of the provinces, and by their politic arts drew some of the chiefs to the service of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. Many of them went with presents to do him homage, and he received them with love and kindness, giving them rich pieces of woollen cloth made in Cuzco. When they returned to their province they esteemed him so highly for his great valour that they called him father, and honoured him with other titles, his benevolence and love for all being such that he acquired perpetual fame among them. In order to instruct them in things appertaining to the government of the kingdom, he set out in person to visit these provinces, and left governors in them who were natives of Cuzco, that they might teach the people more civilised customs, and other useful things. But these natives, not only did not wish to learn from those who remained in their provinces by order of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, in order to indicate to them a better mode of life and to teach them agriculture, but, in payment of the benefits they had received, they killed them all, so that not one was left. They killed them, although they had done no ill, nor had they been tyrannical, so as to merit such treatment. Tupac Ynca heard of this great cruelty, but he dissimulated, because, for other important reasons, he was unable to chastise those who had so treacherously murdered his captains and vassals."[1]

Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza, with which he concludes the chapter above referred to. Having completed the conquest of these provinces, the Ynca returned to Cuzco to rest from the toils and anxieties of the war.

[1] See my translation, p. 178.

CHAPTER VII.

THE YNCA CONQUERS QUITU, AND PLACES THERE THE PRINCE HUAYNA CCAPAC.

Having passed some years in the enjoyment of peace, Tupac Ynca Yupanqui resolved to conquer the great and famous kingdom of Quitu, which was seventy leagues long and thirty broad, a fertile and prolific land well-suited for any improvements in cultivation that might be introduced for the benefit of the inhabitants. He assembled an army of forty thousand men at Tumipampa, and sent the usual summons to the King of Quitu, who had the same name as his country. As the land was rough and wild, so was its king barbarous and warlike, feared by all his neighbours for his great power, and for the extent of his lordships. Confident in his strength, he proudly replied that he was lord, and that he would acknowledge no other, that he wanted no new laws, as he decreed those that pleased him to his vassals, nor would he abandon the gods of his ancestors, which were good enough for him, being deer and great trees, that furnished fuel and meat for the support of life. The Ynca received the reply, but, while commencing the war, he continued his attempts at conciliation in accordance with the tradition of his ancestors. The people of Quitu, however, showed themselves to be as proud as the Ynca was gentle. Hence the war lasted for many months and years, with skirmishes, encounters, and indecisive battles, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, seeing that the conquest would take a long time, sent for his son and heir, named Huayna Ccapac,[1] that he might acquire experience in war; and

[1] Balboa says that he was born at Tumipampa (cap. vi, p. 78, Ternaux Compans' ed.)

twelve thousand warriors were directed to accompany him. His mother, the queen, was named Mama Ocllo, being sister of his father, according to the custom of those kings. The name of this prince, Huayna Ccapac, according to the usual interpretation of the Spanish historians, which seems to be correct, means "the rich youth." The Indians, in giving names and surnames to their kings (as we have already stated), always intended an elegant figure of speech different from the ordinary meaning of the words. They watched the signs which the princes gave of royal virtues when they were young, and they noted their great and beneficent deeds in after life, giving them suitable names and surnames. As this prince from early childhood gave promise of royal magnanimity, they called him Huayna Ccapac, which, in royal nomenclature, means "one who from childhood has been rich in magnanimous deeds." For, as the first Ynca Manco Ccapac received the name of Ccapac for his dealings with his first vassals, the word meaning rich, not in goods but in excellence and greatness of mind, so the word Ccapac was afterwards confined to the royal family, which was called *Ccapac Ayllu*, or the royal lineage and descent. *Ccapac Raymi* was the principal festival of the Sun, and, to descend lower, Ccapac Runa, or "vassal of the rich," was applied to servants of the Ynca, and not to those of any other lords of vassals, how rich soever they might be. And many other similar things were made royal by the addition of this word *Ccapac*.

Among other qualities which this prince possessed, and which led his vassals to give him so early the name of Ccapac, was one habit which he always observed as well when he was prince as afterwards when he was a monarch, and for which the Indians venerated him more than for any of his other qualities. It was that he never refused a request made to him by a woman, whatever might be her age, rank, or condition, answering each one according to her age.

To those who were older than himself, he said—"Mother, do that which you desire." To those who were about his own age, he said—"Sister, let it be as you wish;" and to those younger than himself, he said—"Daughter, let it be as you would have it." To all he placed his right hand on their left shoulder in sign of favour, and in testimony of their prayer being granted. This magnanimity was invariable, and, even in matters of the greatest importance, he maintained the custom when it would act against his own interests, as we shall see presently.

This prince, who was then about twenty years of age, renewed the war, and continued to gain territory little by little, always offering terms of peace and amity; though the enemy, being a rude people badly clothed and without manners, always refused them.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, seeing the excellent way in which the prince was carrying on the war, returned to Cuzco to attend to the government of the empire, leaving Huayna Ccapac with absolute military power. The prince, assisted by his well-trained captains, conquered the whole kingdom in three years, although the people of Quitu say it took five. But they count the two years, or little less, that Tupac Ynca Yupanqui spent in fighting before he sent for his son; and thus they say that both father and son made the conquest. The conquest took so long a time because the Yncas did not wish to carry on the war by fire and sword, but to occupy the country by little and little, as the natives retired. It is even said that it would have lasted longer if the King of Quitu had not died at the end of five years. He died of sorrow at seeing himself deprived of the greater part of his dominions, and at not being able to defend what remained, for he had no hope in the clemency of the Ynca, nor in the terms that had been offered to him, thinking that his rebellion had made forgiveness impossible. Tired out by these misfortunes, this poor king died, and his captains presently

delivered themselves up to the mercy of the Ynca Huayna Ccapac, who received them kindly, and gave them much cloth wherewith to dress themselves, a thing much valued by the Indians, and other presents. The Ynca also ordered the common people to be treated with much kindness. In fine, he behaved with all possible generosity to the people of that kingdom, to show his clemency and gentleness. He showed much fondness for that land, because it was the first that he had conquered. As soon as the war was ended, besides the irrigation works and other measures which were usually adopted to extend cultivation, he ordered a temple of the Sun and a convent to be erected and richly ornamented. In all these works the natives gave great assistance, for the country contained much gold that had been obtained for the service of the king, and much more was collected for the Prince Huayna Ccapac, because the people knew the favour in which he held them. This favour increased in after years to such an extent as never had been known among the Kings Yncas; which was the cause of his empire being lost, and his royal blood being shed and extinguished.[1]

[1] A more detailed account is given of the early history of Quito by a native historian, named Velasco, who wrote in 1789, and ably defended his countrymen, the South American Indians, against the attacks of Robertson, Pauw, and other European writers. Velasco says that, in the most remote antiquity, Quito was peopled by a race called Quitu. The Caras, a tribe on the coast, ascended the river Esmeraldas in *balsas*. They had been settled on the coast about two hundred years, during which time eight or ten chiefs, called *Scyris*, had reigned over them. The Caras conquered the Quitus in about 980 A.D., and occupied their country. The religion of these *Caran Scyris* was that of the Sun and Moon. They built a temple of the Sun on a height near Quito, now called Panecillo, the eastern door of which had two tall columns before it, for observing the solstices. They also had twelve pillars on one side of the temple, as gnomons, to point out, by their order, the first day of each month. On an adjacent height, now called San Juan Evangelista, they built a temple of the Moon. They interred their dead in a desert place, built over them a vault, and piled stones and earth over it till it formed a great heap called *tola*.

Huayna Ccapac advanced beyond Quitu, and came to another province called Quillasenca, which means "the nose of iron." The name was given because the people bored the

The Scyri could not decide on peace or war without consulting the assembly of his nobles. They had little knowledge of architecture, but excelled as lapidaries, and made fabrics of wool and cotton. A great emerald in the head-dress over the forehead was the distinguishing mark of the Scyri. There were about fifteen Scyris during four hundred years. All their new conquests were made to the north, and in the subjugated districts they built forts, with towns round them, inhabited by troops of the Scyri.

Caran, the eleventh Scyri, though old, was ambitious. He married his only daughter, named Toa, to the eldest son of Condorazo, chief of the Puruhas, named Duchicala, who succeeded as twelfth Scyri, in about 1300 A.D. It is believed that Duchicala reigned peacefully for seventy years. Atauchi Duchicala, thirteenth Scyri, succeeded him in 1370, and reigned sixty years. Hualcopo Duchicala, fourteenth Scyri, succeeded in 1430, and reigned thirty-three years. He built a palace in the plain of Callo, which was rebuilt by the Ynca Huayna Ccapac. On the invasion of the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui the people had long been used to peace. The general of Quitu was the Scyri's younger brother, named Epicalchima. The Scyri fortified himself in his paternal province of Puruha, in the north, and fixed his residence at its capital, called Liribamba, where he built a fort. It was a strong position, well wooded, and surrounded with lakes connected together by canals. Meanwhile, the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui conquered the province of Cañari, where he remained two years. Thence he fought his way north, opposed at every pass by the troops of the Scyri, till he reached Tiocajas, where a great battle was fought. The people of Quitu were defeated, and their general, Epicalchima, killed. His eldest son, Calicuchima, succeeded him as general, and the Scyri fled to a fort at Mocha. The Ynca consolidated his conquests, appointed new governors, and returned in triumph to Cuzco in 1460. The Scyri Hualcopo died of grief in 1463, and was succeeded by his son Cacha, the fifteenth Scyri, who had a disastrous reign of twenty-four years.

Cacha at once commenced hostilities against the Ynca troops, and reconquered Puruha, but the Cañaris fiercely opposed his further progress, preferring the Ynca rule, and in 1475 the Ynca Huayna Ccapac entered Quito. Meanwhile, the Scyri Cacha was at Liribamba suffering from illness, and his nephew, Calicuchima, commanded his army. The Scyri's army was entrenched on the plain of Tiocajas, but it was defeated, and the Scyri fled to his fortress at Hatun-toqui, in the province of Otavalo, while his general, Calicuchima, was badly wounded. Here another battle

gristle between the nostrils, whence an ornament of copper, gold, or silver, like an ear-ring, hung over their lips. The Ynca found them to be very vile and dirty, badly dressed, and full of lice. They had no religion, and did not know what it was to pray; unless we allow that they worshipped meat, after which they were so greedy that they would eat any beast they found dead, how putrid soever it might be, with the greatest delight. They were easy to conquer, being little better than beasts themselves. Thence the Ynca advanced to another province called Pastu, inhabited by a people equally vile, but so opposite in their tastes, that

was fought. The Scyri, who was so infirm that he was carried in a chair, was mortally wounded, and his only daughter, Paccha, was declared Scyri. Opposition ceased. The Ynca was victorious, and the Scyri was interred with great magnificence. Huayna Ccapac placed the emerald of the Scyri in his imperial *llautu*, and married Paccha, the heiress of the Quitu kingdom. See *Historia del Reino de Quito en la America Meridional, escrita por el Presbitero Don Juan Velasco nativo del mismo Reino (de Riobamba) año de* 1789. *Quito : Imprenta del Gobierno*, 1844. (3 vols.) The ancient history is in vol. ii. Mr. Prescott quotes from the French translation. He says:—"Velasco, a modern authority, believed easily, or reckoned on his readers doing so." (*Conquest of Peru*, i, p. 72, note.) See *Voyage, etc., pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amerique par H. Ternaux Compans*, vol. ix (Paris, 1840.)

Velasco was a Jesuit; and, on the expulsion of his Order from South America, he retired to Italy, where he wrote his book. The French translation of Ternaux Compans (Paris, 1840), appeared before the more complete Spanish edition (Quito, 1844). Besides the published works on the subject, Velasco consulted others which are still in manuscript, or otherwise inaccessible, whence he appears to have derived his account of the ancient history of Quito. These are—*Informacion veridica de lo obrado en las provincias de Quito y Popayan por Alfonso Palomino.* This writer was an officer in the army of Belalcazar. The first part of his work is in MS. The second is printed in the *Breve Informe de las Casas*, cap. 13. *Conquista de la Provincia del Quito, ritos y ceremonias de lo Indios, etc., por Fray Marco de Nizza.* This friar went to Peru with Pizarro. His work is in manuscript, *Antiguedades del Peru por Bravo de Saravia. Oidor de Lima.* Only fragments of this very curious work survive. *Historia de las guerras civilas del Inca Atahualpa con su hermano Atoco, comunmente llamado Huascar Inca, por Jacinto Collahuaso.*

nothing would induce them to eat meat. If they were pressed to eat it, they answered that they were not dogs. The Ynca had no difficulty in reducing them to his service, and he appointed masters to teach them civilised life. He also imposed upon them a tribute of lice, lest they should die from being devoured by them. From Pastu he went to another province called Otavallu, inhabited by a more civilised and warlike people. They made some resistance to the Ynca, but eventually submitted, seeing that it was useless to oppose so powerful a prince. Leaving there the necessary orders, he passed on to another great province called Caranque, inhabited by a very barbarous tribe. These people worshipped tigers, lions, and great serpents, offering human hearts and blood to them as sacrifices, being parts of the bodies of their neighbours, with all of whom they waged war with the sole object of taking prisoners to kill and eat. At first these Caranques fiercely resisted the Ynca, but in a few days they were undeceived and submitted.

Huayna Ccapac appointed masters to teach them his religion and customs, and ordered their practices connected with the sacrifice of blood and the eating of human flesh to be prohibited. They felt this more than anything else, as they were very greedy after human flesh. This was the last conquest of provinces in that direction, for here the kingdom of Quitu ended.[1]

[1] The river *Ancas-mayu* (from *Ancas*, "blue", and *Mayu*, "a river") was the northern boundary of the empire of the Yncas, when at its greatest extension. It is a tributary of the Patia, and is thus in the coast watershed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THREE MARRIAGES OF HUAYNA CCAPAC. DEATH OF HIS FATHER, AND HIS DEEDS.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, having entirely withdrawn from the war, devoted himself to the government of his empire, paying regular visits to the provinces, an honour which the vassals valued very highly. He occupied himself in the building of the fortress of Cuzco, which his father had commenced but left unfinished. The building of this work took many years, and more than twenty thousand Indians were employed upon it with so much order and regularity that each nation and each province assisted at the work, taking charge of the portion assigned to it, so that the whole system was like that of a very well ordered household. He visited the kingdom of Chile through his governors every two or three years, and sent much fine cloth and other presents to his Curacas and relations; and much coarser cloth to his vassals. In return the Curacas sent gold, plumes of feathers, and other products of Chile; and this interchange continued until Chile was invaded by Don Diego de Almagro.

The Prince Huayna Ccapac completed the conquest of the kingdom of Quitu, and of the provinces of Quillasenca, Pastu, Atavallu, and Caranque; and, having arranged the affairs of the frontier, he returned to Cuzco to report to his father what he had done for his service. He was received in great triumph. At that time he married his second wife and sister, named Rava Ocllo, because he had no children by his first wife, Pilca Huaco. It was necessary that the heir of the empire, according to the customary law, should be legitimate both on the side of the father and mother, and, therefore, the marriage with the second sister became

necessary. He also made a legitimate marriage, according to their laws, with his first cousin, Mama Runtu, daughter of his uncle, Auqui Amaru Tupac Ynca, next brother to his father. *Auqui*[1] is a name which signifies "*Infante*," and it was given to the King's second son, and also to all princes of the blood royal, but not to any other, how great a lord soever he may be. *Amaru* is the name of the very large serpents in the Antis. The Yncas took names of animals, flowers, and plants, by way of signifying that as such things excelled all others of their kind, so the Yncas were superior to all other men.

The King Tupac Ynca Yupanqui and all his Council ordained that those two women should be legitimate, and be considered as queens, like the first wife, and not as concubines, and that their sons should succeed in their order to the inheritance of the kingdom. This precaution was taken by reason of the sterility of the first wife, which had caused much scandal. The third marriage was with a first cousin, because Huayna Ccapac had not a third sister who was legitimate both on the father's and mother's side. A wife was, therefore, chosen from his first cousins who, next to his sisters, were nearest to the royal stem. Huayna Ccapac had, by his sister Rava Ocllo, a son named Huascar Ynca. Huascar is an appellation which was given for a reason that we shall explain in another place, his proper name being Ynti Cusi Huallpa. By his third wife, who was his first cousin, he had a son named Manco Ynca, who also succeeded to the throne, though only in name, for at that time the empire had passed away to the Spaniards.

After some years of rest and peace Tupa Ynca Yupanqui fell ill, and became aware of the approach of death. He summoned the Prince Huayna Ccapac and the rest of his

[1] The word has been borrowed both by the people of the Collao, and by those of Chincha-suyu. In the Collao dialects it means a father, and in that of Chincha-suyu—an old man.

numerous sons, for, counting both girls and boys, he had two hundred children. He addressed the speech to them which these kings were accustomed to make instead of a will, urging them to cultivate peace and justice, and to do good to their vassals. He charged them to show themselves true children of the Sun in all things. To the prince, his heir, he specially recommended the conquest of barbarians, that they might be taught the worship of the Sun and a civilised life, and enjoined him in all things to imitate the examples of his ancestors. Finally, he charged him to punish the treason committed by the people in the district round Puerto Viejo, and principally by the Huancavillcas, in having killed those captains and ministers who, at their own request, had been sent into their country to instruct them in civilisation. For they knew not how either to till their fields or to clothe their bodies. The Ynca declared that it was not right that such ingratitude should go unpunished, lest other vassals should imitate the evil example. He then bade them farewell, saying that his father, the Sun, had called him to his rest. Thus died the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, leaving an immortal memory among his people of his piety, clemency, and meekness, and of the many benefits he had conferred upon the empire. For these reasons, besides the other names which are given to all their kings, they called him *Tupac Yaya*, which means "the father who is resplendent." By his legitimate wife, Mama Ocllo, he left, besides the prince his heir, five other sons. The second was named Auqui Amaru Tupac Ynca, after his father, that the name might be continued. The third was Quehuar Tupac. The fourth was Huallpa Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. This prince was my maternal grandfather. The fifth was Titu Ynca Rimachi; and the sixth was Auqui Mayta. They embalmed his body, and I saw it afterwards, in the year 1559, when it looked as if it was alive.

The Father Blas Valera says what follows concerning

this Ynca, translated word for word from his Latin into Romance:—"Tupac Ynca Yupanqui said: 'Many say that the Sun lives, and that He is the maker of all things. Surely, He who makes a thing assists at its creation, but many things are made when the Sun is absent. Therefore, He is not the maker of all things. And it may be concluded that He does not live, because He makes so many revolutions, and yet is never tired. If He was a living thing He would become tired as we do, and if He was free He would visit other parts of the Heaven which He never reaches. He is like a tethered beast that always makes the same round, or like the dart which goes where it is sent, and not where it wishes.'

"He is also said to have frequently repeated a saying of the Ynca Rocca, which seemed to him to be very important to the public welfare. He observed that it was not lawful to teach to the common people those sciences which should only be known by the nobles and no others. Because, to elevate and ennoble the base, is to injure and make despicable the common weal. It is enough that the base-born should learn the occupations of their fathers, for to order and govern is not the work of common people, and to entrust such duties to them would be to endanger and injure the republic. The Ynca also said that ambition and avarice prevent a man from knowing how to moderate either his own actions or those of others. For avarice diverts the mind from the public good and from that of a man's family, and ambition lessens the understanding and makes a man follow his own opinions, rather than the advice of the wise and virtuous."

So far is from the Father Blas Valera, who gives the above sayings of the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui.

As we are now approaching the time when the Spaniards undertook to conquer that empire, it will be well, in the following chapters, to give some account of the products of

that land which are used for the support of human life. Further on, after we have come to the death of the great Huayna Ccapac, we will mention the products which that land does not yield, but which have been introduced by the Spaniards, so that the one class may not be confounded with the other.

CHAPTER IX.

OF MAIZE, AND OF WHAT THEY CALL RICE, AND OF OTHER GRAINS.

The fruits which Peru yielded, and which supported its people before the arrival of the Spaniards, were of several kinds, some growing underground and others aboveground. Of the fruits which grow aboveground, the most important is that which the Mexicans and people of the Antilles call *maiz*, and the Peruvians *sara*;[1] for it yields their bread. There are two kinds: one is hard and is called *muruchu*, and the other, called *capia*, is tender and highly esteemed. They eat it instead of bread, either toasted or boiled in pure water. The maize seed that has been brought to Spain is of the hard kind. The tender sort has not yet been introduced. In some provinces it grows more tender and delicate than in others, especially in that called Rucana.[2] In their sacrifices it was their custom, as has already been said, to make bread called *çancu*, and for eating, not every day, but on festal occasions, they made the same bread and called it *huminta*. The names were different, not because there was any difference in the bread, but because one was for a sacrificial offering, and the other for their own eating. The women ground the corn on certain broad slabs or tiles, on the top of which they put another tile in the shape of a half moon, not round

[1] In the Collao dialect the word for maize was *tonco*. *Sara* is the word in the language of the Yncas.

[2] Lucanas.

but somewhat oblong, and three fingers wide at the edge. They put their hands on the half-moon shaped side of the stone, and rubbed the other edge up and down over the maize. This difficult way of grinding was adopted for maize and anything else they had to grind, for which reason they did not eat bread on ordinary occasions.

They did not grind in mortars, though they had them; because the grinding in mortars is effected by force of the arms, and by the blows that are dealt. But the half-moon shaped stone grinds what is underneath it, by its own weight, and the Indian woman easily holds it, by reason of its peculiar shape, working it up and down from one end to the other. From time to time she collects what she is grinding into the middle of the tile with one hand to regrind it, while with the other she holds the stone. They still use this method of grinding. They also made fritters called *api*, and ate them with much appetite, making many pleasant jests the while, for this was a rare treat. The flour was separated from the bran[1] by pouring it all upon a cloth of clean cotton, into which they put one hand and stirred round. The fine flour, being lighter, remained in the cloth, while the bran, being coarser, separated and was easily cast out. They then shook the flour that remained into the middle of the cloth and renewed the process, and thus they went on sifting it as long as was necessary. The sifting of the flour was done more for the Spaniards than for that which the Indians ate; because the Indians did not mind the bran so much. It was chiefly the bran of the tender maize that required sifting. They sifted in the way I have described for want of sieves, which were not introduced into Peru before they had wheat. I saw all this with my own eyes, and was sustained until my nineteenth year on this *sara*, which is called maize, the bread of which has three names—*cancu*

[1] *Afrecho.* A word not now used; the modern word for bran is *salvado.*

used for sacrifices, *huminta* used on special occasions, and *ttanta* (pronounced with the first syllable from the palate) is the ordinary bread. Toasted maize is called *camcha*, which includes the adjective and substantive. It must be pronounced with *m*, because with *n* it means a great yard or the ward of a city. Boiled maize is called *muti* (corrupted by the Spaniards into *moti*). The Spaniards make biscuits, cakes, and confections from the maize flour, as well for the healthy as for the sick. For the faculty have set aside wheat flour for the treatment of all diseases, and use that of maize. From the same flour, mixed with water, they make their beverage,[1] and from it, souring it in a way known to the Indians, they make excellent vinegar. They also make very good sugar from the stalks of the maize, before they are ripe; while the dry stalks and leaves are very useful food for cattle. The leaves of the *mazorca* and of the stalk are useful for those who make statues, that they may come out very smooth. Some Indians who are more fond of inebriety than their fellows, steep the maize until it sprouts, and then mash it in the same water, and keep it until it ferments. This produces a very strong liquor which intoxicates at once. They call it *viñapu*, and, in another language, *sora*. The Yncas prohibited its use, because it was so intoxicating; but since their time I am told that some vicious men have begun to use it. Thus they have all the uses we have mentioned for the *sara* and its different parts, besides many others which have been discovered in medicine, as well in the form of drinks as of plasters.

Of the grains which are cultivated over the face of the country, they give the second place to the one called *quinua*[2]

[1] *Chicha*, which is called in the Quichua language *Acca*.

[2] *Chenopodium Quinoa*. Von Tschudi pronounces it to be a nutritious, wholesome, and pleasant article of food. The leaves, before the plant attains full maturity, are eaten like spinach. The seeds are boiled in milk, or in broth, and sometimes cooked with cheese and pepper. The dried stems are used as fuel. It has been successfully cultivated in Germany, and deserves to be more generally known.

by the natives, and *mujo* or lesser rice by the Spaniards, because it is something like rice in colour and in the grain. The plant on which it grows is very like the wild amaranth, in shape as well as in the leaf and in the flower, where the *quinua* grows. Both the Indians and Spaniards eat the tender leaf in their dishes, because they are savoury and very wholesome. They also eat the grain in their soups, prepared in various ways. The Indians also make a beverage of the *quinua*, as they do of the maize, but only in districts where maize will not grow. The native herbalists use the flower of *quinua* to cure some diseases. In 1590 they sent me some of this seed, but it arrived dead, for, though I sowed it several times, it did not germinate. Besides these grains the Indians of Peru have three or four kinds of beans called *purutu*, which they use in their dishes. They also have lupins like those in Spain, only rather larger and more white, which they call *tarvi*. Besides these beans which are fit for food, they have others which are not good to eat. These are as round as if they were made in a mould, of many colours, and the size of a chick pea. They call them *chuy*, but distinguish the different kinds by their colours, giving them many names, some absurd and others appropriate, which I shall not give, to avoid prolixity. They use them in various ways in their games, both boys and grown-up people. I remember playing at them in all the different ways.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE VEGETABLES THAT THEY GROW BENEATH THE GROUND.

There are many other vegetables grown under the ground, which the Indians sow, and which serve to sustain them, chiefly in those districts where there is no maize.

The most important is the *papa*,[1] which serves them instead of bread. They eat it boiled and roasted, and also in their stewed dishes. They expose the papas to the sun and frost to preserve them, as we have already stated, and they are then called *chuñu*. There is another root called *oca*,[2] which is much esteemed. It is as large and thick as a man's middle finger, and they eat it raw, because it is sweet, as well as boiled, and in their stews. They expose it to the sun to preserve it, and, without putting treacle or sugar to it, it tastes like a conserve, for it contains much sweetness. It is then called *cavi*. There is another root which is like the *oca* in shape, but not in taste, called *añus*. It can only be eaten when cooked. The Indians say that this food injures the generative powers, and, that it may do no harm, those who pride themselves on being gallants take a small wand or switch in one hand while they eat it, and they say that it loses its effect and does no harm when so eaten. I have heard this reason given, and have sometimes seen it eaten in this way, though they gave me to understand that they did so more for the sake of the joke than because they believed the nonsense that had been told them.

The roots which the Spaniards call batatas, and the Indians of Peru *apichu*,[3] are of four or five different colours. Some are red, others yellow, others white, others brown, but they differ very little in taste.[4] The least good are those

[1] The Ynca word for a potatoe was *papa*. In the country of the Chancas and Chincha-suyu the word was *ascu*. In the country of the Collao it was *Amcca*, according to Bertonio, who gives eight of the best kinds—namely, *amajaa*, *puma coyllu*, *ahuachucha*, *ppatticalla*, *nayrappoco*, *allca phiñu*, *kusku*, and *vila kapi*. A wild potatoe in the Collao was *apharu*.

[2] Called *apilla* in the Collao. It is the *Oxalis tuberosa*. It is an oval-shaped root, the skin pale red, and the inside white. It is watery, and has a sweetish taste.

[3] *Convolvulus batatas*. The *camote*, or sweet potatoe.

[4] On the Peruvian coast there are two kinds, yellow and violet. They do not grow in districts more than three thousand five hundred feet above the sea.

that have been brought to Spain. There are also calabashes and lemons. Those here called Roman calabashes are called *sapallu* in Peru. They are grown like melons, and they eat them boiled and stewed, but they are not good to eat raw. They have abundance of those out of which they make cups, which they call *mati*. The edible kind, like those in Spain, were not known in Peru until the Spaniards came. There is another vegetable which is raised under the ground, called by the Indians *ynchic*. It is very like marrow, and has the taste of almonds. The Spaniards call it *mani*, but all the names which the Spaniards give to the fruits and vegetables of Peru belong to the language of the Antilles. They have been adopted by the Spaniards, and therefore we speak of them as Spanish words. If the *ynchic* is eaten raw it causes a headache, but when toasted it is wholesome, and very good with treacle; and they make an excellent sweetmeat from it. They also obtain an oil from the *ynchic*, which is good for many diseases. Besides these vegetables, they obtain a root which the Indians call *cuchuchu*. Up to this time I have not heard that the Spaniards have given it any name. This is because it does not grow in the Antilles, where the climate is very hot, but in the Collao, a very cold region. It is sweet and wholesome, and may be eaten raw. It is also good for the stomach, and promotes digestion. The *cuchuchu* is a root not much larger than the *añis*. It has no leaves, but where it grows the surface of the ground becomes green, and in this way the Indians know that there is a *cuchuchu* underneath. When this green appearance disappears they know that the *cuchuchu* is ripe, and they dig it out. This root and the *ynchic* are rather luxuries for the rich and the curious in such things than food for the poor, though the common people collect them to present to the rich and powerful.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE FRUIT OF THE LARGER TREES.

There is another very good fruit which the Spaniards call *pepino*,[1] because it is like one in shape, though not in taste nor in wholesomeness (for it is useful for those sick with a fever), nor in being digestible; in these things it is the opposite to the *pepino* of Spain. The name which the Indians give it has escaped my memory, although I have often tired it out in striving to recollect on many different days. I have taken myself to task for the careless guard I have kept on this memory of mine, both as regards this word and many others in our language. I venture to suggest that *cacham*[2] is the Indian name for pepino. I know not whether I am wrong, and I cannot hope to rectify the mistake, by reason of the absence of my friends and my great distance from the country. My relations, the Indians and half-castes of Cuzco, and of all Peru, must be judges of this my ignorance, and of many other mistakes that they will find in this my work. They will pardon me, for I am their countryman, and it was only for their sakes that I undertook this laborious task, without hope of reward either from them or anyone else. The *pepinos* are of three sizes, and the smallest, which are heart-shaped, are the best. They grow on small bushes. Another fruit, called *chili*, arrived at Cuzco in the year 1557. It has a very pleasant taste. It grows on very low shrubs, almost trailing on the ground. It has little grains outside like the fruit of an arbutus, and

[1] A *Cucurbitacea*. The plant creeps along the ground. The fruit is four to five inches long, cylindrical, and somewhat pointed at both ends. The pulp is solid, and juicy. The outside is yellowish-green, with rose-coloured stripes. The *pepino* is very indigestible.

[2] Very nearly right. It is *cachun*. (*Mossi*, No. 188.)

is the same size, not round, but rather long, in the shape of a heart.

There are many other fruits which grow on tall trees. Those already mentioned are more like garden vegetables. Some of these fruits are found in hot climates, like the coast region and the country of the Antis, and others in a more temperate climate like the warm valleys of Peru. But, as all may be procured in any of these districts, it will not be necessary to make a division among them, so I will take them as they come; beginning with that called by the Spaniards *guayava*,[1] and by the Indians *savintu*. They are round and about the size of medium apples, and like them with a skin, and without rind. Inside there are many pips or round grains, smaller than those of a grape. Some are yellow outside and red within. These are of two kinds, one so sour that it cannot be eaten, and the other sweet and with a very pleasant taste. Others are green outside and white within, and these are considered much better than the red ones in some places, while in many of the coast districts the red are held to be better than the white. The Spaniards make conserves of these and other fruits, but this was after I left Peru. In my time they did not make them. I saw a conserve of *savintu* in Seville, which a passenger had brought from Nombre de Dios, and, as it was a fruit of my native country, he invited me to taste it.

Another fruit is called *paccay*[2] by the Indians, and by the Spaniards *guava*. It consists of a pod about a *quarta* long,

[1] *Psidium Guayava*. It grows on a low shrub, chiefly in the coast valleys and on the eastern declivity of the Andes. It is of the shape and size of a small apple. The rind is bright yellow and thin. The pulp is either red or white, and is full of little egg-shaped granulations. It is very unwholesome, as insects lay their eggs in it.

[2] *Prosopis dulcis. Humb.* The tree is large. The fruit consists of a pod from twenty to twenty-four inches long, inclosing black seeds, which are embedded in a white, soft, flaky substance, the only eatable part of the fruit.

more or less, and two fingers in width. On opening it one finds some white stuff exactly like cotton. It is so like, that Spaniards, who did not know the fruit, have been known to scold the Indians who gave it to them to eat, thinking they were offering cotton by way of a joke. They are very sweet, and, after being exposed to the sun, will keep very long. Within the white pulp there is a black pip, like a bean, which is not good to eat.

The fruit which the Spaniards call a pear, because it is like one in its green colour and its shape, the Indians call *palta*,[1] because it was brought from a province of that name, and introduced into the others. But it is three or four times as large as a Spanish pear. It has a soft and delicate rind, inside of which is the pulp, about a finger in thickness. In the centre is the kernel or bone, as the very accurate will have it. This kernel is the same shape and thickness as a common pear, but it has not been ascertained whether it is useful for any purpose. The fruit is very good and very wholesome for sick people. Eaten with sugar, it makes a very agreeable conserve.[2]

Another fruit is called by the Indians *rucma*, and by the Spaniards *lucuma*, because it has not been left without the corruption which they bestow upon all Indian names. It is a tolerable fruit, not delicate nor pleasant, though rather sweet than sour, and not known to be unwholesome, but it is coarse food. The *rucma* is about the size and shape of an orange, and has a kernel in the centre very like a chestnut in colour and size, but the inside, though white like a chestnut, is bitter and not good to eat. The Indians also

[1] *Persea gratissima*. Pear-shaped and dark-brown in colour. The rind is tough and elastic, but not very thick. The edible substance is soft and green, enclosing a kernel like a chestnut in form and colour. The kernel makes very good brandy. The *palta* tree is slender and very tall, with a dome-like top.

[2] It is much better with pepper and salt; and, in a climate where butter melts, it is excellent for spreading on bread or toast for breakfast.

had a sort of cherry called *ussun*, which is red and sweet. Eaten one day, on the next the urine becomes so red that it looks as if it was mixed with blood.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE TREE CALLED MULLI, AND OF THEIR PEPPER.

Among these fruits we may place that of the tree called *mulli*.[1] The tree grows by itself on the plains, and the fruit hangs in long racemes. The berries are round grains of the size of dried coriander seeds, and the leaves are small and always green. The berry, when it is ripe, has at first a very pleasant and slightly sweet taste, but, when that has gone off, it is very bitter. They make a beverage for drinking from it by rubbing it gently between the hands in hot water until it has given out all the sweetness it contains, but before the bitterness has time to enter, for if this happens all is lost. They strain this water, and let it stand for three or four days until it is fit for use. This drink is very pleasant, very wholesome, and very useful for diseases of the kidneys or liver, and mixed with the beverage made from maize it improves it and makes it more wholesome. The same water boiled until it thickens becomes an excellent treacle, and when placed in the sun, with some ingredient added which I do not know, it makes good vinegar. We have mentioned in another place how useful the juice and resin of the *mulli* is for wounds.[2] The boiling of the leaves in water is good for washing the legs and body, to get rid of the itch and to cure old sores. Small wands cut from the tender branches are excellent for cleaning teeth. I remem-

[1] *Schinus molle.* See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 397, and note.

[2] See vol. i, p. 187.

ber the valley of Cuzco when it was adorned with innumerable quantities of these useful trees, and in a few years I saw it with scarcely any. The reason is that very good charcoal is made from the wood, for, though on lighting it emits many sparks, yet it afterwards retains the fire until it is converted into ashes.

With these fruits, and even as the most important of them according to the taste of the Indians, we may place the condiment which they use in all their dishes, whether stew, roast, or boiled. They cook no dish without that which they call *uchu*, known to the Spaniards as pepper of the Indians. It is also known as *axi*,[1] a name in the language of the Windward Islands. My countrymen are so fond of this *uchu* that they will not eat without it, even if their meal should be raw herbs. Owing to the flavour it gives to their food, its use was forbidden in the fasts of the Indians, to make them more rigorous, as I have mentioned elsewhere.[2] This pepper is of three or four kinds. The most common is thick, somewhat long, and without a point. This is called *rocot uchu*, or "thick pepper," to distinguish it from the next kind. They eat it green, and before it assumes its ripe colour, which is red. There are others yellow, and others brown, though in Spain only the red kind has been seen. There is another kind the length of a *geme*,[3] a little more or less, and the thickness of the little finger. These were considered a nobler kind, and were reserved for the use of the royal family. Their special name has escaped my memory, but they are also called *uchu*. It is the adjective to be added that I cannot recollect. Another kind of pepper is small

[1] Or *aji*. There are several kinds—*Capsicum annuum, C. baccatum, C. frutescens*, etc. They are sometimes eaten green, and sometimes dried and pounded. The consumption in Peru is greater than that of salt, and nearly every dish contains *aji*. They do not grow in districts over four thousand eight hundred feet above the sea. [2] Page 229.

[3] The space between the end of the thumb and the end of the forefinger, both extended.

and round, exactly like a cherry with its stalk. They call it *chinchi uchu;* and it burns far more than the others. It is grown in small quantities, and for that reason is the more highly esteemed. The poisonous reptiles fly from the pepper and from its plant. I heard a Spaniard say, who had arrived from Mexico, that the pepper was very nice to look at, and that he, therefore, had two roasted capsicums at every meal. Generally the Spaniards, who return to Spain from the Indies, eat them regularly, and like them better than the kind from the East Indies. The Indians are so fond of them that they value them more than all the other fruits we have mentioned.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MAGUEY TREE AND ITS USES.

Among these products we may include the tree which the Spaniards call maguey, and the Indians *chuchau.*[1] We have already mentioned the numerous uses to which it is put,[2] and we will now add several other virtues of the *chuchau,* which are given by Father Blas Valera. They ought not to be omitted, although we will enumerate them more briefly than does his paternity. The Father says that "they are ugly to look at, and that the wood is light and has a bark. They are about twenty feet long, and the thickness of a man's leg. The pith is spongy and very light, and is used by painters and carvers of images. The leaves are large, and half a *braza* long. They all grow from the stem like those of a thistle, and hence the Spaniards call them thistles. The leaves might more properly be called artichokes, for they have sharp points like the leaves of an artichoke.

[1] *Agave Americana*, the American aloe.

[2] Vol. i, p. 86.

Their sap is very bitter. It serves to take stains out of clothes, and to cure sores and inflammations. The same sap, boiled with the roots in rain-water, is very good for renewing the strength of a tired person if he washes in it, and for various medicinal uses as a wash. The leaves from the foot of the stem, when ripe and dry, make very strong material for cordage. They make the soles of shoes from them, and ropes and cables. Those which are cut before they are dry are put into the current of a stream, and of these lighter kinds of string are spun. They make slings from this string, which they twist round their heads, and cloth for dresses, in places where there is a want of wool or cotton. It is like the canvas[1] they bring from Flanders, or the oakum made in Spain. The Indians also get from the leaves another finer sort of material, of which they make very delicate thread for nets, with which they catch birds. They place those nets in some narrow defile, from rock to rock, or from one tree to another, and watch the birds from below, which, flying from the people, fall into the nets. These nets are very fine and green, so that the birds do not distinguish them from the green colour of the ground and the trees, and more readily fall into the snare. They make the nets very large, from six to eight, twelve, fifteen, and twenty *brazas* in length. The leaves of the *maguey* are curved, and the rain-water that collects in them is good for several diseases. The Indians collect it, and make a very strong beverage from it, mixed with maize, *quinua*, or the *mulli* seeds. They also make treacle and vinegar. They pound the roots of the *chuchau*, and make small cakes of soap with which the Indians wash their heads, and thus get rid of headaches, and of stains in the face. It also strengthens the hair, and makes it very black."

Thus far is from Father Blas Valera. All I have added is the length of the nets, which he does not give, but which is

[1] *Angeo.* A canvas manufactured at Anjou.

worth noticing. We will now mention how this stuff strengthens the hairs, and makes them black, as it is a strange and barbarous thing.

The Indian women of Peru all wear their hair long and loose, without any head-dress. The most they ever wear is a broad band, about the width of a thumb, which they bind round their heads. I must except the Collas, who, by reason of the extreme cold, go with their heads covered. The Indian girls are naturally very fond of having their hair very long and black, because it is always exposed to view. When the hair is chestnut coloured, or with split ends, or begins to come out in combing, they boil it in a pot of water and herbs before a fire. One of the herbs is the root of the *chuchau*, as Father Blas Valera says; but, when I have seen them do this on several occasions, they have put in more than one ingredient. Being a child at the time, I neither inquired what the herbs were, nor how many kinds they used.

In order to put the hair into the decoction in the pot, the girls would lie down on their backs, with something round their necks to avoid the heat of the fire. They took care that the liquid should not touch their heads, lest it should take the skin off; but the hair that remained outside the pot was made wet with the liquid, that it also might benefit from the virtue of the decoction. In this way they endured the voluntary torment for nearly two hours. As I was a boy at the time, I did not note exactly how long they were, so as to be able to state the time now. But I did not fail to wonder at the process, which was a severe one for the girls who chose to undergo it. Since I have been in Spain I have ceased to wonder, for many ladies here do much more to adorn their hair; perfuming it with sulphur, and wetting it with gilded strong waters, and then exposing it to the sun in the middle of the dog days, besides other contrivances; so I know not which are most hurtful, the fashions of the

Spanish ladies or those of the Indian girls. After having performed other ablutions to get rid of the refuse of the boiling process, their hair comes out blacker and glossier than the feathers of a crow recently moulted. This and much more will the longing for beauty induce people to undergo.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PLANTAIN, THE PINE, AND OTHER FRUITS.

Returning to the fruits, we will speak of some of the principal products in the *Antis* of Peru, which are the hottest and most humid districts; but, to avoid prolixity, we will not mention all the fruits. The first place should be given to the tree and its fruit, which the Spaniards call a plantain. It is like a palm tree in shape, and in having the leaves in the highest part; which are very large and very green. These trees sow themselves; they require a very rainy climate, like the Antis, and their fruit grows in such large bunches that some have been known (as Father Acosta observes in the twenty-first chapter of his fourth book) on which three hundred plaintains have been counted.[1] The fruit grows within a skin, which is neither rind nor peel. It is easy to take off, and is a *quarta*,[2] a little more or less, long, and about three fingers in thickness.

Father Blas Valera, who has also written concerning this fruit, says that they cut off the bunches when they begin to ripen, that their weight may not injure the tree, which is soft and tender, and useless either as timber or fuel. They ripen the plantains in jars, covered with a certain herb which helps them to mature. The fruit is soft and sweet,

[1] Von Tschudi says the same.—*Travels*, p. 187.

[2] One fourth of a *vara*. About three inches.

and, after exposure to the sun, it is like a conserve. They eat it raw, roasted, boiled, and in their stewed dishes, and it is very good in every way. With a little treacle or sugar (for a little is necessary) they make various conserves from the plantains. The bunches that ripen on the trees are sweeter and more wholesome. The trees are two *varas* in height, some more and others less. There is a small kind which, to distinguish it from the larger sort, they call *Dominicos*, because its skin, when the bunch first begins to grow, is white, and when the fruit is ripe it is black and white. It is one half smaller than the other kind, and there are not so many of the *Dominicos* as of the larger plantains.

Another fruit, which the Spaniards call *piña*, because it is like the pines of Spain, is not really to be compared. For those, after taking off the rind with a knife, show a white fruit which is very pleasant to eat, with just a little, but very little, acidity, which makes it more agreeable to the taste. In size it is twice as large as the Spanish pine. There is another fruit in the country of the Antis, which the Spaniards call *manjar blanco*,[1] because, when cut in half, it looks like two slices of *manjar blanco*, both in colour and taste. It has inside some small black pips, which are not good to eat. This fruit is the size of a small melon. It has a hard rind, like a dry calabash, and almost the same thickness. Within is this highly esteemed fruit, which is sweet and just the least bit acid, so as to increase its luscious flavour.[2] Many other fruits grow wild in the country of the Antis, such as those which the Spaniards call almonds and nuts, from some fancied resemblance to those fruits in Spain. For the Spaniards had a habit, from some supposed likeness

[1] *Manjar blanco* was a dish made of a boiled breast of fowl, mixed with sugar, milk, and rice flour.

[2] I should say he was describing the delicious *chirimoya*, but that the rind of the *chirimoya* is soft, not hard. Yet he would hardly omit all mention of the *chirimoya*, and he may have forgotten about the rind.

and often from none at all, of calling the fruits of that country by the names of those in Spain, although, when they are compared, they are very different. Certainly the differences are much greater than the likenesses; and some are quite opposite, not only in taste but in their effects, as is the case with these nuts and almonds, which, with other fruits and vegetables that grow in the country of the Antis, we will dismiss as little worthy of our attention, in order to describe other products of more note.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE PRECIOUS LEAF CALLED CUCA, AND OF TOBACCO.

It would not be reasonable to forget the plant which the Indians call *cuca* and the Spaniards *coca*.[1] This plant has been and is the principal wealth of Peru, for those who are engaged in trade. It is, therefore, right to give a complete account of it, seeing that it is esteemed so highly by the Indians for its many and great virtues known to them in old times, and for many more which the Spaniards have discovered, in regard to its medicinal uses. The Father Blas Valera, as a close observer, and one who resided many years in Peru and left it more than thirty years after my departure, writes of both the one and the other class of virtues, as one who had tried them. I will first give what his Paternity says, and then add the little that remains to be told. He says:—

"The *cuca* is a small bush of the height and thickness of a vine. It has few branches, and on them many delicate leaves of the width of the thumb, and as long as half a

[1] See the chapter on "Coca Cultivation", in my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 232.

thumb's length. They are of a pleasant smell, but not soft. These leaves are called *cuca*, both by Indians and Spaniards. The Indians are so fond of the *cuca* that they prefer it to gold, silver, and precious stones. They cultivate it with great care and diligence, and are even more careful in getting in the crop. They pick the leaves, one by one, by hand, and dry them in the sun. But they do not swallow the leaves. They merely enjoy the flavour, and pass out the juice. It may be gathered how powerful the *cuca* is, in its effect on the labourers, from the fact that the Indians who use it become stronger and much more satisfied, and work all day without eating. The *cuca* preserves the body from many infirmities, and our doctors use it pounded, for applications to sores and broken bones, to remove cold from the body, or to prevent it from entering, as well as to cure sores that are full of maggots. If it is so beneficial and has such singular virtue in the cure of outward sores, it will surely have even more virtue and efficacy in the entrails of those who eat it? It has another important use, which is that the greater part of the revenue of the bishops and canons of the cathedral of Cuzco is derived from the tithe of the *cuca* leaves; and they enrich many Spaniards who trade with them. But some people, ignoring all these virtues, have said and written many things against the little plant, with no other reason than that the gentiles, in ancient times, and now some wizards and diviners, offered *cuca* to the idols, on which ground these people say that its use ought to be entirely prohibited. Certainly, this would be good counsel if the Indians offered up this and nothing else to the devil. But seeing that the ancient idolaters and modern wizards also sacrifice maize, vegetables, and fruits, whether growing above or under ground, as well as their beverage, cold water, wool, clothes, sheep, and many other things, and as they cannot all be prohibited, neither should the *cuca*. They ought to be taught to abhor superstitions

and to serve truly one God, using all these things after a Christian fashion."

Thus far is from Blas Valera. To add a few more particulars, we will first remark that these little plants are about the height of a man, and, in planting them, they put the seeds into nurseries,[1] in the same way as with garden stuffs, but drilling a hole as for vines. They layer the plants as with a vine. They take the greatest care that no roots, not even the smallest, be doubled, for this is sufficient to make the plant dry up. When they gather the leaves, they take each branch within the fingers of the hand, and pick the leaves until they come to the final sprout, which they do not touch, lest it should cause the branch to wither. The leaf, both on the upper and under side, in shape and greenness, is neither more nor less than that of the arbutus,[2] except that three or four leaves of the cuca, being very delicate, would make one of an arbutus in thickness. I rejoice to be able to find things in Spain which are appropriate for comparison with those of that country, that both here and there people may know one by another. After the leaves are gathered, they put them in the sun to dry. For they lose their green colour, which is much prized, and break up into powder, being so very delicate, if they are exposed to damp in the *cestos* or baskets in which they are carried from one place to another. The baskets are made of split canes, of which there are many of all sizes in these provinces of the Antis. They cover the outside of the baskets with the leaves of the large-cane, which are more than a *tercia* wide, and about half a *vara* long, in order to preserve the *cuca* from the wet; for the leaves are much injured by damp. The basket is then enveloped

[1] *Almaciga.* In Arabic *Masîjah*, or with the article *el-Masîjah*, is an enclosure fenced with thorns, and, as nursery-beds were protected in that way, it was quite natural that the name should be applied to them.

[2] Madroño.

by an outer net made of a certain fibre. In considering the number of things that are required for the production of *cuca*, it would be more profitable to return thanks to God for providing all things in the places where they are necessary, than to write concerning them, for the account must seem incredible. They gather the *cuca* leaves every four months, which makes three harvests a year. If the ground is weeded well and thoroughly of the numerous herbs that continually spring up, by reason of the warmth and dampness of the climate, each harvest may be anticipated by more than a fortnight, which makes nearly four harvests in the year. An avaricious payer of tithes, in my time, bribed the owners of the richest and most important estates, belonging to Cuzco, to take care that the *cuca* plantations were thoroughly weeded. By this diligence the tithe payer, in the following year, got rid of two-thirds of the tithe in the first harvest. Hence a very tedious lawsuit arose; but I, being a boy at the time, do not know how it ended.

Among other virtues of the *cuca*, it is said to be good for the teeth. I remember a story showing the strength it gives to those who put it in their mouths, which I heard in my youth concerning a cavalier of birth and breeding, named Rodrigo Pantoja.[1] Travelling from Cuzco to Rimac, he overtook a poor Spaniard (for there are poor men there as well as here) who was making the journey on foot, and carrying his little girl of two years old on his back; and they entered into conversation. "Why do you travel with that load?" asked the cavalier. "Because I cannot hire an Indian to carry this child, and therefore I carry her myself", replied the man on foot. When the soldier spoke, Pantoja looked at his mouth, and saw that it was full of *cuca*. At

[1] Rodrigo Pantoja is once mentioned, in the Second Part, as coming to Cuzco with Diego Centeno, before the battle of Huarina. Pte. II, lib. v, cap. 10.

that time the Spaniards abominated all that the Indians ate and drank, thinking that their practices savoured of idolatry, especially the eating of *cuca*, which appeared a vile and base habit. He, therefore, said:—"Supposing your necessity to be such as you describe it, yet why do you eat the *cuca*, like an Indian, seeing it is an unseemly habit, and abominated by the Spaniards?" The soldier answered:—"In truth, I did not abominate it less than my countrymen, but necessity has obliged me to imitate the Indians and carry it in my mouth. For I would have you to know that if I did not do so, I could not carry my load, while, by using it, I acquire such additional strength and vigour, that I am able to perform this work." Pantoja was surprised to hear this, and told the story to many people. From that time the Indians got some credit for using *cuca* from necessity, and not from greediness. This is the fact; for the *cuca* has not got a pleasant taste. Further on we shall relate how they bring it to Potocsi, and the particulars of the trade there.

Of the plant which the Spaniards call tobacco, and the Indians *sayri*, we shall speak in the other part.[1] Doctor Monardo writes wonders concerning it. The *sarsaparilla* needs no praise from anyone; for its own deeds are its sufficient praise, both in the Old World and the New, in curing bubos and other grave infirmities.[2] There are many other herbs in Peru of such virtue as medicines that, as Father Blas Valera says, if they were all known it would be unnecessary to bring any from Spain, or from anywhere else. But the Spanish doctors think so little of them, that even those that were formerly known to the Indians, are, for the most part, forgotten. Of such herbs as are used for food there is such a multitude that it would be difficult to give an account of them. Suffice it to say, that the Indians eat all those that are sweet and bitter: some raw, as we eat

[1] He never does.

[2] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 200.

lettuce and radishes, and some in their stews and soups. For this is the wealth of the poor, who have not got abundance of flesh and fish like the rich. The bitter herbs, such as the leaves of the bush called *sunchu*,[1] and others, are first boiled two or three times, then dried in the sun, and kept through the winter. Their diligence in seeking and gathering herbs for eating is so great, that they spare none, even picking the plants that grow in the rivers and streams, for their dinners.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE TAME FLOCKS, AND OF THE DROVES THEY HAD OF THESE ANIMALS.

"The domestic animals which God gave to the Indians of Peru," says Father Blas Valera, "were in accordance with the gentle character of those people; for they are gentle, and any child may guide them where he likes, especially those that carry loads." There are two kinds, one larger than the other. The Indians called them *llama*, and a shepherd is *llama michec*, which means "he who tends the flock". To distinguish them they call the larger kind *huanacu-llama*, because of their similarity, in all respects, to the wild animals called *huanacu*, from which they do not differ in anything except colour. The tame animal is of all colours, like the horse in Spain; while the wild *huanacu* is always of the same colour, which is washed-out chestnut, with the flanks of a clearer chestnut. These animals stand as high as the stags of Spain; but they resemble no animal so much as the camel, only without the hump, and about a third the size. The neck is long and graceful; and the Indians use the skin, rubbed with grease until it is pliable and like

[1] A large yellow *composita*.

dressed leather, for the soles of their shoes. But, as it is not really dressed, they take their shoes off when they cross a stream, and in rainy weather, because it becomes like tripe when it is soaked with wet.

The Spaniards make excellent reins of it for their horses, which are very like those used in Barbary. This leather is also used for cruppers and straps for travelling saddles, as well as for thongs and stirrup leathers, and for the girths and saddles of riding-horses. The flocks are also useful, both to Indians and Spaniards, for carrying their goods whithersoever they desire; but their usual route, and the one which is most easy for them from being level ground, is from Cuzco to Potocchi, a distance of near two hundred leagues. They come from many other parts, and bring to those mines the clothing for Indians, merchandise of Spain, wine, oil, conserves, and all other things that are consumed there. From Cuzco they chiefly carry the herb called *cuca*. In my time they had, in that city, for carrying loads, droves of six hundred to eight hundred and one thousand head. Droves of less than five hundred were not valued. The weight they carry is three or four *arrobas*. Their day's work amounts to a march of three leagues; for they are not beasts that will do much work. They cannot be got out of their fixed pace; for they become tired if they are urged, and presently lie down, when nothing will induce them to rise, not even if the load is taken off. They may then flay them; for there is nothing else to be done. When an attempt is made to raise them, they defend themselves by spitting in the face of the man who is nearest. They have no horns like deer, nor anything else wherewith to defend themselves. With all this the Spaniards call them sheep, although there is such a difference between the two animals. They bring forty or fifty unloaded animals in the drove, and as soon as one of the loaded beasts appears to be getting tired, they unload him, and put the pack on another; because, if a

beast is once tired and lies down, there is nothing left but to kill him. The flesh of these beasts is the best that is now eaten in the world. It is tender, agreeable, and wholesome. Medical men prefer the meat of their lambs of four to five months, for sick people, to chickens.

In the years 1544 and 1545, during the time of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela, among other plagues that afflicted Peru, these llamas had a disease called *carache*, which is the itch. It was a very severe scourge, and had never been known before. It first attacked the beast in the stomach, and thence spread over the whole body, making scabs two or three fingers high, especially on the belly, where the disease was always worst. It made scars two or three fingers deep, which was the thickness of the scabs. Blood and matter flowed from them, and in a short time a whole flock would be destroyed. The disease was very contagious, and caused extreme terror to the Indians and Spaniards, who lost two-thirds of the flocks of both kinds, *pacos* and *huanacus*. From the tame beasts it spread to the wild *huanacus* and *vicuñas*, but it was not so fatal with them, the climate in which they live being colder, and their habit not being to congregate close together, as with the tame animals. The disease did not even spare the foxes, but treated them most cruelly. I remember, when Gonzalo Pizarro was at Cuzco in the year 1548, after having been victorious in the battle of Huarina, I saw many foxes, afflicted with this disease, enter the town at night. They were found in the streets and squares, alive and dead, and their bodies had two or three deep holes which the scabs had left. I also remember that the Indians, being fond of divining, prognosticated from the foxes that Gonzalo Pizarro would be defeated and slain, an event which afterwards happened. At the beginning of the plague, among other desperate remedies that were adopted, they killed and buried the whole flock that was attacked, as Father Acosta also says in the fourth

chapter of his fourth book. But, as it continued to spread, neither the Indians nor the Spaniards knowing what to do to get rid of it, they attempted to cure it with artificial fire. They made decoctions of corrosive sublimate and sulphur, with other strong ingredients, but the flocks died all the more. They then applied boiling hog's lard, which killed them still faster. They tried many other things, which I do not remember; but none of them answered until, little by little, first trying one thing and then another, they at last discovered that the best cure was to anoint the parts where there were scabs with warm hog's lard, and to be careful to watch whether any beast scratched its belly, which was the place where the disease began, so as to cure it before it began to spread. By these means they at last found a cure, and afterwards the plague was not so severe as at first. This virtue that the lard was found to possess, increased the value of pigs, which have kept their price in spite of their rapid increase. It is worthy of note that, although the plague was so general, it did not attack the deer, which must be of a different habit. I also remember that they adopted St. Anthony as the advocate and defender against this disease, and had a great feast in his honour, which is probably still continued.

The droves being so large, and the journeys so long, yet the llamas cost their owners nothing, in food, lodging, shoeing, harness, pack-saddles, girths, straps, nor other things that are usually wanted for beasts. On arriving at the resting-place, they are unloaded and turned adrift to browse on such pasture as they can find, and thus they maintain themselves during the whole time, without being given either grain or straw. They like the *sara* (maize) when it is given to them, but they are so noble that they continue to work without it. They do not require shoeing, because, besides being cloven-footed, their hoofs are fleshy and not horny. They neither require pack-saddles nor

harness of any kind, having such thick wool that the load can be placed upon it, the packer taking care to adjust it equally, and prevent it from touching the spine. The packs are not secured with a lasso because, as the beast carries no saddle, the cord might cut the skin from the weight of the load. The loads are made equal on either side in cloths, and though the cloth passes over the spine, it does no harm because the load is not on that part of it. The Indians have twenty-five llamas for a load, to relieve each other. The merchants carry their tents, and set them up where they intend to sleep, with the goods inside. They do not enter a village to pass the night, because it would be a tedious job to collect the drove from the fields. The journey from Cuzco to Potocchi takes four months, two going and two returning, besides the period occupied in disposing of the goods. A choice llama was worth eighteen ducats at Cuzco, and a common one from twelve to thirteen. The principal merchandise that they brought from that city was *cuca*, and cloth for the dresses of the Indians. All I have described is what happened in my time, and what I saw with my own eyes, but it may be different now. I spoke a good deal with those who went and came; and there were some journeys when they sold the *cuca* at more than thirty dollars the *cesto*. The Spaniards and Indians had no fear in carrying goods of such value, and in returning laden with thirty to fifty and a hundred thousand dollars of silver, nor in sleeping in the fields with no other security than their own company, because there were no thieves and robbers. The same security was felt in mercantile dealings, and in collecting rents, for which they took neither writing, nor deed, but only a verbal promise, which was inviolably kept. It often happened that a Spaniard lost the amount at play that another, who was absent, owed him. He would then say to the man who had won, "Tell so-and-so to pay to you the money he owes to me, as you have won it from me"; and this was

always considered satisfactory by the winner, for the recovery of the debt, even in the case of large sums. So highly was each man's word valued in those days, whether he was a merchant, a citizen, a lord of Indians, or a soldier. Such being the credit given to a man's word, and such the security of the roads, it might well be called the golden age; and I understand that the same state of affairs still exists.

In time of peace, many soldiers of very noble blood, in order to avoid idleness, entered into this business of conveying *cuca* and cloths for the Indians to Potocchi, selling it wholesale, but never retail. In this way it was allowable for gentlemen to traffic with their goods, so long as they did not deal in Spanish cloths, which have to be sold by the yard. Many of them enjoyed the journey with their merchandise; and, to avoid going at the pace of the *llamas*, they took with them a pair of hawks, partridge dogs, greyhounds, and a gun. Then, while the drove went along at its slow pace, they went away, on one side of the road or the other, to get some sport. When they came to the sleeping place, they brought with them a dozen partridges, or a *huanacu, vicuña,* or deer; for the land is long and broad, and contains all kinds of game. Thus they enjoyed the journey, going and coming, which they undertook more for the sake of sport than for profit. The powerful and rich citizens were highly gratified that noble soldiers should act thus. Father José de Acosta, in the forty-first chapter of his fourth book, says much in praise of this larger kind of beast, and of its uses.[1]

The smaller kind is called *paco-llama,* and concerning it there is not so much to say; for it is of no use either to carry loads or for any other purpose; though its flesh is little inferior to that of the larger kind, and its wool is

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 392, and p. 396, where, in a note, I have translated the account of the llamas, given by Acosta.

excellent and very long. They make three kinds of cloth from it, with beautiful dyes, which the Indians well know how to apply, and which never fade. The Indians make no use of the milk of either kind, either to make cheese, or to eat fresh. It is true that they give little milk, only sufficient to rear their young. In my time, they brought cheeses of Majorca to Peru, which were highly esteemed. They call the milk *ñuñu*, as well as the teat, and the act of sucking. Touching the dogs of the Indians, they had no thorough breds as in Spain, but only such as are here called curs. They were large and small, and were all called *alco*, which means a dog.[1]

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE WILD SHEEP, AND OF OTHER WILD ANIMALS.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians of Peru had no domestic animals besides the two already mentioned, called *paco* and *huanacu*. They had more wild animals, but they treated them as if they were tame, as we have explained when we spoke of their hunting.[2] One kind of wild animal was called *huanacu*,[3] and they gave the larger kind of tame beast the same name, by reason of the resemblance, for it is the same shape and size, and has the same kind of

[1] *Canis Ingæ* (*Tsch*). They have a small head, a pointed muzzle; small, erect ears; a tail curling upwards; and a thick, shaggy skin. They detest white people.

[2] See page 115.

[3] The *huanacu* measures five feet from the hoof to the head, and three feet three inches to the shoulders. It is very like the *llama;* but Von Tschudi, in his *Fauna Peruviana*, says that there are specific differences between the two animals. On the neck, back, and thighs the *huanacu* is a reddish-brown colour; the under part of the body, middle line of the breast, and inner side of the limbs being a dingy white. The *huanacus* live in small herds of five or seven, and are very shy. See p. 117.

wool. Its flesh is good, though not so good as that of the tame kind. The male *huanacu* is always on the watch on some high hill, while the females browse in the lower ground, and when he sees any man, he gives a neigh like that of a horse, to warn the others. Then, as soon as people approach, they take to flight, but keeping the females in front of them. The wool of these *huanacus* is coarse and short, though the Indians use it for weaving cloth. They hunted them with greyhounds in my time, and killed many.

There is a wild sheep of the smaller kind, as well as the domestic *paco*, called *vicuña*.[1] It is a slight and delicate animal, with much very fine wool; of the medicinal virtues of which Father Acosta writes many excellent things. He also writes concerning the uses of many other animals and birds that are found in the Indies; but as his Paternity writes concerning the whole New World, it is necessary to look out carefully what appertains specially to Peru. I have referred to him for much that I am now describing. The *vicuña* stands higher than the largest goat. The colour of its wool is a very clear chestnut, or lion colour. They are very swift, and no greyhound can come near them. They kill them with arquebuses, or by securing them with a rope, as in the time of the Yncas. They browse on very lofty deserts near the snow.[2] Their flesh is edible, though it is not so good as that of the *huanacu*. The Indians valued them because they had little flesh.

They have deer and stags in Peru, though they are much

[1] The *vicuña* is the most beautiful of the four kinds. It is only four feet one inch high, and two feet and a half to the shoulders. The neck is long and slender, and the wool is short, curly, and very fine. The crown of the head, upper part of the neck, back, and thighs are of a reddish-yellow hue; the lower part of the neck, and inner parts of lines are a bright ochre, and the breast and belly white. It lives in herds of six to fifteen, one male being the leader and protector.

[2] But they avoid rocky ground, and keep on the turf, as their hoofs are very soft and tender.

smaller than those of Spain. The Indians call them *taruca*.[1] In the time of the Yncas, they were so numerous that they came into the villages. There are also roe and fallow deer. In those times they obtained the bezoar stone from all the above animals, but not when I can remember. The foxes are much smaller than those of Spain, and called *atoc*.[2] There are other small animals, less in size than a wild cat, which the Indians call *añas*, and the Spaniards little foxes. They have so strong a smell that, if it was a perfume instead of a stench, they would be valued more than musk and ambergris; for they can be smelt at a distance of a hundred paces. They enter the villages at night, when closed doors and windows do not suffice to keep the smell out. They are very scarce, for if they were numerous they would infect the universe. There are wild and tame rabbits, differing from each other and from those of Spain, in colour and taste. They are called *coy*.[3] These wild rabbits have been brought to Spain, but they are not much esteemed. The Indians, as a lean people, value them highly, and eat them as a great treat. They have another kind, different from the *coy*, called *viscacha*.[4] It has a long tail like a cat, and breeds in the snowy heights, and not in the valleys, where it could not live. In the time of the King's Yncas, they made use of the skin of the *viscacha* in weaving, to vary the colours of their fine cloths. Its colour is a clear yellow, and a cloth mixed with it was much valued amongst the Indians, and was only used for the dresses of the nobles.

[1] *Cervus Antisiensis (Orb)*. A timid roe, inhabiting the high forests skirting the Andes.

[2] *Canis Azaræ. (Pr. Max.)*

[3] Guinea pigs.

[4] *Lagidium Peruanum (May)*. They live on the steep rocky mountain sides, and in the morning and evening they creep out from their holes and crevices to nibble the Alpine grasses.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF LIONS, BEARS, TIGERS, AND MONKEYS.

Lions are met with, though they are not so large nor so fierce as those of Africa. The Indians call them *puma*.[1] Bears are also found, but they are very rare, as all the land of Peru is clear of dense forests, so that such animals do not multiply. The Yncas also ordered that they should be killed, as we have already mentioned in the history of the royal hunts. They call the bear *ucumari*.[2] Tigers are only found in the region of the Antis, where there are dense forests, and where also the great serpents breed, called *amaru*. They are twenty-five to thirty feet long, and larger round than a man's thigh. In that region there are also a great multitude of smaller snakes called *machachuay*, of poisonous vipers, and of other evil reptiles, of all which the land of Peru is free. A Spaniard, whom I knew, killed a great lioness in the country of the Antis, near Cuzco. She had climbed into a high tree, and was killed by four thrusts of a lance. They found two whelps in her belly, which were sons of a tiger, for their skins were marked with their sire's spots. I have forgotten the name for a tiger in the general language of Peru,[3] it being the name of a beast fiercer than any other in my native land. When I upbraid my memory for these faults, it asks me why I should blame it when the fault is not my own; for it is now forty-two years since I have either spoken or written in that language. This is my excuse to those who would blame me for having forgotten my own language. I believe that the tiger is called *uturuncu*,[4]

[1] The maneless lion of South America. The *puma* is about four feet long, and stands two feet high.

[2] *Ursus frugilegus (Tsch.)*

[3] *Uturuncu* is the name which the old Ynca had forgotten. *Felis pardalis (L.)*

[4] Quite right.

though the Father Acosta gives this name to the bear, saying "*Otoroncos*", according to the usual Spanish fashion of corrupting the words. I know not whether it is I or he that is mistaken; but I believe it to be his Paternity.[1] There are other animals in the Antis, which are like cows. They are the size of a very small cow, and have no horns. The skin, from its great thickness, is excellent for strong leather, and some, who overrate it, say that it resists a blow better than a coat of mail.[2] There are also wild boars, something like those which are hunted in Spain. There are few of these and other animals in those regions of the Antis which border on Peru, and I do not treat of those more distant. There are many monkeys, large and small: some with tails, and others with none.

I could say much respecting the monkeys; but, as Father Acosta writes at large on the subject in the thirty-ninth chapter of his fourth book, and as what he says is the same as I heard from Spaniards and Indians, and partly saw myself, it seems as well to give here what his Paternity says, which is as follows:—

"There are innumerable monkeys throughout the forests of the islands, mainland, and Andes. They are a sort of apes, but different in that they have tails, and very long ones. Amongst them there are some three and four times as large as ordinary monkeys: some black, some bay, and some grey. The swiftness and agility of these creatures is wonderful; they seem as if they could speak and reason; and in passing along the trees they seem to wish to imitate the birds. I saw at Capira, on my way from Nombre de Dios to Panama, one of these monkeys leap from one tree

[1] His Paternity is wrong, as usual, and the Ynca is right.

[2] These are tapirs, called *Anta*, corrupted to *Danta* in Quichua, and "gran bestia" by the Spaniards. The length of the Peruvian tapir, reported upon by Mr. Yarrell, was forty-eight inches from nose to tail; girth, thirty-five inches. Colour, a rusty, reddish-brown, with indications of lighter spots and horizontal lines on the ribs, flanks, and thighs.

to another on the other side of a river, which astonished me. They leap where they list, twisting their tails round the branches; and when the space is so wide that they cannot cover it by a jump, they use a pretty device. They fasten themselves to each other by their tails, and so make, as it were, a chain of many. Then they launch themselves forth, and the first, helped by the force of the rest, takes hold, and hangs to a bough, assisting the others until they can get up. It would take long to recount the fooleries, tricks, and pleasant sports they learn when they are taught, which seem rather the result of human understanding than the work of brutes. I saw one in the governor's house at Carthagena, so taught as that the things he did seemed incredible. They sent him to the tavern for wine, putting the pot in one hand and the money in the other; and they could not possibly get the money out of his hand, until he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street and threw stones at him, he would put his pot down on one side, and throw stones at the children until he had cleared his way, when he would carry home his pot. Although he was a good wine bibber (I have seen him drink; his master pouring it out from on high), yet he never touched the jug without leave given. They also told me that if he saw any woman painted, he would fall upon her, pull off her cap, and ill-treat her. This may be an exaggeration, as I have not seen it; but I do not think there is any beast that can so accommodate itself to the habits of men as this kind of monkey. They report so many things that I, that I may not appear to give credit to fables, deem it best to omit them, only blessing the Author of all creatures for having, with the sole object of amusing men and giving them pleasure, created a class of animals that is intended only to excite to laughter. Some say that they brought these monkeys to Solomon from the West Indies; but I believe they came from the East Indies."

Thus far is from Father Acosta. We may add that the monkeys carry their young on their backs, until they are able to jump and live by themselves. They go with their arms clasped round the necks of their mothers, and legs clasped round their bodies. They form chains, as described by Father Acosta, in order to cross rivers or great streams that they cannot jump across. They fasten themselves to one tree, as he has said, and swing until the lowest can reach some branch of another tree by which it climbs until it is on a level with the monkey at the other end. Then it gives a signal, and orders the others to let go. Presently this direction is obeyed, and they all pass over the river, availing themselves of their strength and cunning, like disciplined soldiers. As they understand each other's cries (and I hold that all animals and birds do so with their own species) the Indians say that they can speak, but that they hide their speech from the Spaniards lest they should be forced to get silver and gold. They also say that they carry their children on their backs, to help the Indian women. Many other tales are told of them; but this will suffice for the monkeys.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE TAME AND WILD BIRDS ON LAND AND WATER.

The Indians of Peru had no domestic birds, except a kind of duck, which the Spaniards call by that name because it closely resembles the ducks of their country. They are neither so large nor so tall as the geese of Spain, nor so small and short as the ducks here. The Indians call them *nuñuma*, a word derived from the word *nuñu* to suck, because they eat as if they were sucking. There were no other domestic birds in that land. Concerning the birds of the air, and of

the salt and fresh water, we will say what occurs to us, though it would be impossible to mention half or a quarter of them, by reason of their number and variety. There are eagles of all kinds, royal and not royal, though they are not so large as those of Spain. There are also falcons of various sorts: some like those of Spain, others unlike. Their general name, among the Indians, is *huaman*. I have seen some of the small kind which have been brought to Spain, and are highly esteemed. The kind which they call a "falcon gentle"[1] in my country are very strong in wing and talon, and their plumage is nearly black. In 1557 a gentleman living at Cuzco, a native of Seville, who prided himself on his knowledge of falconry, went through all he knew with a *ñebli*. He recalled him to hand by the lure, from a great distance. But he was never able to induce the bird to take food while in confinement, and so his trouble was in vain. There are other birds which may also be classed with those of prey, which are very large. The Indians call them *cuntur*, and the Spaniards *condor*. Many have been killed and measured, that their size might be accurately ascertained. They were found to be from fifteen to sixteen feet long from the tip of one wing to the other, which makes five *varas* and one-third.[2] They have not talons like the eagles, that their ferocity may be tempered. Their claws are like those of a chicken; but their beak suffices for them, being strong enough to break through the hide of a cow. Two condors will attack a cow and a bull, and eat them. It has even happened that one has attacked a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, and eaten him. The cunturs are black and white in patches, like magpies. They are not numerous; for, if that were so, they would destroy all the flocks. They have a double crest in front like a razor, but not with a point like

[1] Ñeblies.

[2] This is an exaggeration. The condor measures from twelve to thirteen feet from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other.

a cock's comb. When they come down from a height, they make such a loud humming noise as to cause astonishment.

The Father Acosta, in speaking of birds of the New World, and particularly of the *cuntur*, in the thirty-seventh chapter of his fourth book, to whom I refer those who wish to read of wonderful things, uses these words:—"The birds called condors are of immense size, and of such strength that they are not only able to tear open a lamb and eat him, but also a calf."

In contrast to the *cuntur*, his Paternity speaks of other birds of Peru, which the Spaniards call *tominejos* (humming birds) and the natives *ccenti*. They are of a golden-blue colour, like the richest tint on the neck of a peacock. They feed like the bees, sucking the honey out of the flowers with their long slender beaks. They are so very small that his Paternity describes them as follows:—

"In Peru they have humming birds so very small that, seeing them flying, I often doubted whether they were bees or small butterflies. But they really are birds. He who may hear of those two birds, at opposite extremes of size, that are found in Peru, will be prepared to understand that there are many intermediate between the two."

There are other large black birds in Peru, called by the natives *suyuntu*, and by the Spaniards *gallinazo* (Turkey buzzard). They are great devourers of flesh, and so greedy, that if they find a dead beast in the field, they are soon unable to rise on the wing, owing to the weight of what they have eaten. Then, as soon as they see that people are approaching them, they take to flight on their feet and wings, vomiting up the food, so as to lighten themselves, and fly away. It is a diverting sight to behold them so quickly and anxiously throwing up what they had eaten with equal diligence. If the people make haste, the birds are caught and killed. But they are not good to eat, nor of any other use whatever, except to clean the streets. For the latter

reason the people refrain from killing them. They are not birds of prey. Father Acosta says that they belong to the crow species.

There are other sea birds, like the above, which the Spaniards call *alcatraz*. They are a little smaller than bustards.[1] They maintain themselves by fishing, and it is a very pleasant thing to watch them at work. At certain hours in the forenoon and afternoon, being probably the time when the fish rise towards the surface, or else when the birds are most hungry, the birds collect closely together in two columns on high, and then, like hawks making their spring, with closed wings, they let themselves fall to catch the fish, entering the water until they have succeeded. Sometimes they stay so long under water that it seems as if they would be drowned, which is probably because the fish fly far from them. But, just as the suspicion that they will drown approaches certainty, they come up with the fish across their bills, and swallow it while flying up into the air. It is very amusing to see one of these birds fall, and to hear the great splash with which it comes down into the water, and at the same moment to see others emerge with their prey secured. Then others are seen to check their fall midway, and rise again on high, from loss of confidence in their chance. It is the same as seeing two hundred falcons on the wing together, rising and falling like the blows of a hammer. Besides these, there are such thousands of other sea birds which fly in flocks, that the accounts of those who may describe them would seem incredible to anyone who was not an eye-witness. They are of all sizes: large, middle-sized, and small. When I sailed on the South Sea, I often watched them attentively. They fly in such long strings that the distance from the first to the last bird must often be two leagues, and the flocks

[1] *Abustardes.* The modern Spanish form is *Avutarda.* The pelican is intended.

are so closely packed that the sight cannot penetrate through to the other side. On their flight, some fall into the water to rest; while others, having rested, rise into the air. It is certainly a wonderful sight to behold the multitude of these birds, and it raises one's thoughts to give thanks to the Eternal Majesty for having created such an infinity, and for sustaining them with a like multitude of fish. This will suffice on the subject of the sea birds.[1]

Returning to the land birds, without, however, leaving those frequenting waters, we must now observe that there is another infinity of them on the rivers and lakes of Peru. These are herons, night herons, cranes, and those they call flamingos, besides many others which I cannot enumerate, from never having observed them with attention. There are great birds, larger than storks, which live on fish. They are very white, without mixture of any other colour, standing very high on their legs, and walking in couples. They are very beautiful to look upon, but appear to be scarce.[2]

[1] See Von Tschudi's *Travels*, p. 240.

[2] Bertonio, in his vocabulary of the dialects spoken by the Lupacas, Pacajes, and other tribes in the Collao, gives a long list of the "*Hamacchi Çota*", or birds of lake Titicaca. There are the *huallata* (also an Ynca word); the *parihuana* or *parina* (flamingo); *umcolla*, a yellow bird; *uhuasi*, *tiqui*, *quenocaa*, *lahuaycu*, *cchuaquiri*, *ccanccataa*, *soca*, and *huakena*. Of these the *tiqui* is a red-crested water-hen, the *umcolla* is a duck, and the *huakena* is a heron.

The *huachua*, in the Ynca language, is a species of goose (*chloephaga melanoptera. Eyt.*) The plumage of the body is dazzling white; the wings green, shading with violet; and the feet and beak a bright red. There are also two species of ibis, and large flocks of gulls called *quellua* (*Larus serranus. Tsch.*) The gigantic water-hen (*Fulica gigantea. Soul.*) has dark-grey plumage, with a large yellow bump at the root of its red beak. Hence its name—*Ana senca*. *Ana*, "a mole on the face"; *senca*, "a nose".

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE PARTRIDGES, DOVES, AND OTHER SMALLER BIRDS.

There are two kinds of partridges in that land. One kind is like a hen. They breed in those deserts that the Indians call *puna*. The other sort is smaller than the partridges of Spain, very good to eat, and more wholesome than the larger kind. Both are grey, with white beaks and legs. The small ones are more like quails in the colour of their feathers, except the white spots, which they have not got. They call them *yutu*,[1] a name in which the sound of their chirping is imitated. It is like *yut yut*. And not only the partridges, but many other birds have names from the sound of their chirping.[2] We will presently give some examples. I know not whether they have introduced Spanish partridges into my country. There are grey doves with white necks like those in Spain, in size, plumage, and flesh, called *urpi*, which means a dove. The Indians call the wild pigeons that have been brought from Spain *Castilla urpi*, which means a dove of Castille. There are turtle doves exactly the same as those of Spain, though perhaps a little larger, called *cocohuay*, a name the first two syllables of which imitate their song, and it is pronounced in the interior of the throat, so as to be more like the sound.

There are other smaller doves, the size of larks or quails, and the same colour. They build on the roofs, as the sparrows do here, but they are scarce. There are also some

[1] *Tinamotis Pentlandii (Vig.)*

[2] Don Diego D'Avalos y Figueroa opines that this way of giving names to birds is a sign of the obscure and limited intelligence of the Indians. He gives the following examples:—A bird, *pisco;* a partridge, *yuto;* doves, *cucuri* and *corocuto;* heron, *guacana;* a goose, *guellata;* a duck, *ñuñuma;* a pigeon, *urpi;* other birds, *laqueleques.—Miscelanea Austral.*, *Colloquio* XXVIII, p. 124 (Lima, 1602).

small grey birds, which the Spaniards called sparrows, which breed in the fields. They are like sparrows in colour and size, but different in their song; for they sing very sweetly. The Indians call them *pariapichiu*. They build under the eaves of the houses, as well as in the fields. There are other brown birds, which the Spaniards call nightingales,[1] from a similarity in the colour; but they are as different in their song as black is from white. These brown birds sing very badly, insomuch that the Indians looked upon their song as an evil omen. There are small black birds, which the Spaniards call swallows; but they are more like martins than swallows. They come at certain seasons, and lodge in holes in the roofs, ten or twelve together. These birds fly about in the villages, and are more tame than any others. I never saw either swallows or martins,—at least, not in the region called Sierra. The birds of the coast are the same, except the sea birds, which are different. There are neither godwits, nor grouse, nor cranes, nor bustards; but other birds take their places, which I do not remember. In the kingdom of Chile, which was included in the empire of the Yncas of Cuzco, there were ostriches called *suri*, but they have not the same soft and beautiful feathers as those of Africa. Their colour is grey and white. They do not fly high, but they are very swift with legs and wings, and run faster than a horse. The Spaniards took some, and placed them in relays against their horses, but the pace of one horse, nor of two in succession, could not tire these birds. There are birds in Peru which the Spaniards call linnets, because they are of two colours, black and yellow. They fly in flocks. The Indians call them *chayna*, which is the sound of their song. There are many other kinds of birds, large and small, of which I cannot give an account, owing to their number, and to the shortness of my memory. But I recollect that they had

[1] Ruy Señor.

kestrils, like those of Spain, only stronger. In the valley of Yucay I saw two kestrils flown at a little bird from a distance. The bird was put into a large and shady tree, which was standing when I left the country. The Indians looked upon this tree as sacred, because their kings sat under it, to witness the festivals that were celebrated in that beautiful valley. One of the kestrils, exercising its natural cunning, went into the tree to drive out the little bird. The other rose in the air above the tree to watch where it came out and chase it. The kestril hunted the little bird like a falcon gentle, and the bird went back into the tree. The kestril then went in again to drive it out; while the one that had driven it out before rose in the air to watch. They repeated this four times, and at last the little bird flew towards the river, and escaped amongst some ruins of ancient edifices, to the great satisfaction of four or five Spaniards who had been watching the affair, and admiring the skill that Nature teaches to all her creatures, even to such little birds, for the preservation of their lives: one kind attacking, and another flying with such wonderful intelligence. There are several kinds of wild bees. But the Indians did not raise them in hives, nor have the Spaniards yet begun to do so. The wild bees frequent crevices of rocks and hollow trees. Those in the cold region make little honey, owing to the poor herbs, and their wax is black and of no use. But the bees in temperate and hot climates, enjoying good herbage, make excellent honey, white, clean, and very sweet. When taken to a cold climate it coagulates, and looks like sugar. The Indians value it much, not only for eating, but also for several medicinal purposes, for which they find it very beneficial.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PARROTS, AND OF THE WAY THEY TALK.

The parrots are found in the region of the Antis. They are of many sorts: large, middle-sized, small, and very small. The very small kinds are less than quails, and the large ones are as big as falcons. Some are all of one colour; others are of two colours: green and yellow, or green and red. Others are of many different colours, especially the large ones, which the Spaniards call macaws, which are of many bright colours. The feathers of their tails, which are very long and brilliant, are much esteemed by the Indians for adorning themselves on festivals. The famous Juan Bocaccio based the plot of his pleasant novel of *Frate Cipolla* on the brilliancy of these feathers. The Spaniards gave different names to the parrots, with respect to their size. They call the very small kinds paroquets; to others, a little larger, they give the name of *catalinillas;* and, to a larger kind, which talks more than the others, that of *loros*. The very large ones, called macaws, are very stupid about talking, and never do so. They are only good for looking at, as the beauty of their plumage causes admiration. These different kinds of parrots have been brought to Spain, that they may be kept in cages for the pleasure of hearing them talk. There are other kinds which have not been brought, probably because they are less intelligent. In Potocsi, in the year 1554-55, there was a parrot of the kind called *loro*, which was such a talker that it called the Indian men and women that passed in the street, each according to the nation he belonged to, without ever making a mistake; saying *Colla, Yunca, Huayru, Quechua,* etc. It knew them by the differences of their head dresses, which, in the time

of the Yncas, the different tribes wore on their heads that they might be distinguished from each other. One day a pretty Indian girl passed down the street where the parrot was, with three or four servants, who made much of the lady *Palla*, she being of the blood royal. As soon as the parrot saw her, it burst out into a loud fit of laughter, and cried *Huayru, Huayru, Huayru*, which is a very vile tribe, despised by all others. The Indian lady was much ashamed at being called such a name in presence of the crowd that was always watching the parrot. When she got near, she spat at it, and called it *Supay*, which means Devil. The crowd said the same, because they knew the lady, who was dressed as a *Palla*. In Seville, in Caldefrancos, there was another parrot a few years ago, which, when a physician, who was unworthy of the name, passed by, made use of so many depreciatory expressions that he was forced to complain of it. The magistrate sent for the parrot's master, and ordered him not to leave it in the street, on pain of its being delivered up to any person it offended. The Indians call the parrots *uritu*. With reference to the great noise they make with their cries when they are flying in large flocks, the Indians called a tiresome chattering person *uritu;* such an one as the divine Ariosto mentions in his 25th canto, "who knows little and talks much." Of him the Indians say, with much propriety, "he talks like a parrot." The parrots come up out of the Antis in the season when all the rest of Peru is covered with maize, of which they are very fond, and they do much damage. They fly very fast, and very high; but the macaws, being slow and heavy, never come out of the Anti region. The parrots fly in flocks, as I have already said, but one species never mixes with another, each kind keeping separate from the others.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF FOUR FAMOUS RIVERS, AND OF THE FISH THAT BREED IN THE RIVERS OF PERU.

I had almost forgotten to give an account of the fish that the Indians of Peru find in the fresh water of their rivers, which are numerous and very large. I will name four of the largest of these rivers, and no more, lest I should become tedious. That which they call Rio Grande, and for another name Magdalena, enters the sea between Santa Martha and Carthagena. According to the marine charts it is eight leagues across. It rises in the Cordilleras of Peru, and, by reason of the fury with which it enters the ocean, it extends for ten or twelve leagues out at sea, breaking the surface into waves, so that the immensity of the waters does not suffice to repel its violence. The river of Orellana, which we call by that name to distinguish it from the Marañon, has, according to the same chart, a width of fifty-four leagues at the mouth, more or less. Although some authors assign thirty leagues to the width of its mouth, others less, others forty, and others seventy, it seems to me to be better to adopt the opinion of navigators, which in reality is not an opinion, but the result of experience; for that republic that traverses the waters of the sea does not deal in opinions. It carries in its hands the simple truth. Those who give the width at seventy leagues measure across from one point of land to the other transversely; but the left hand point runs out into the sea much further than that on the right hand side. The correct measurement gives no more than fifty-five leagues, as the pilots know. The first sources of that famous river are in the province called Cunti-suyu, between the west and south of Cuzco, which is the direction called

by mariners south-west. It passes eleven leagues to the west of that city. Even very close to its source it cannot be forded, for it carries much water, and is very rapid, flowing between very lofty mountains, which, from below to the snowy heights, have a distance of thirteen to fifteen leagues almost perpendicular. It is the largest river there is in Peru, and the Indians call it Apurimac, which means the chief or prince who speaks, for *Apu* has both significations, being applicable to leaders both in peace and war. They also give it anothor name, which fits it better, and that is *Ccapac-mayu*. *Mayu* means a river. *Ccapac* is a title they give to their kings, and they applied it to this river to show that it was the prince of all the rivers in the world. It retains these names until it passes beyond the boundaries of Peru. I know not whether it afterwards continues to bear it until it enters the sea, or whether the tribes which live in the forests through which it passes give it another name.

In the year 1555, owing to the great abundance of winter rains, a piece of the mountain fell into the river, of such size, and bringing such masses of stones and earth, that it blocked the stream up from one side to the other, insomuch that not a single drop of water passed for three days, until the pent up river rose above the mountain that had fallen across it. Those who lived in the valleys below, seeing that so great a river had dried up so suddenly, supposed that the world had come to an end. The overflow extended for fourteen leagues above the stoppage, as far as the bridge on the high road from Cuzco to the City of the Kings. This river Apurimac flows from south to north for more than five hundred leagues from its source to the equator. Then it turns to the east, and flows for other six hundred and fifty leagues along the equator, measured in a straight line, until it enters the sea; but, counting its windings, its length must be more than one thousand

five hundred leagues in the easterly course, as estimated by Francisco de Orellana, who descended it, when he accompanied Gonzalo Pizarro in his expedition to discover the Land of Cinnamon, as we shall relate in its place.[1] The six hundred and fifty leagues on the eastern course are given on the marine charts, for, although navigators do not usually enter details relating to country inland on their charts, but only those appertaining to the sea and its shores, yet in this case they desired to delineate the course of the river, because it was the largest in the world, and to show that it is not without reason that it enters the sea through a mouth sixty leagues wide, making a sea of fresh water for a circuit of a hundred leagues. According to the report of Orellana (attested by *Gomara*, cap. 86),[2] the river has a course of two thousand leagues, counting its windings, and including the five hundred leagues of which we first spoke. It enters the sea exactly on the equator. It is called the river of Orellana, after that knight, who navigated it in the year 1543, although the Pinzons, natives of Seville, discovered its mouth in 1500. The name of "river of the Amazons" was given to it, because Orellana and his people beheld the women on its banks fighting as valiantly as the men. We mention the same thing in our history of Florida. It is not that there are Amazons on that river, but that they said there were, by reason of the valour of the women. There are many islands in the river, large and small. The tide ascends for a little more than one hundred leagues; and this will suffice on the subject of that famous emperor of the rivers.

The river they called Marañon enters the sea a little

[1] Pte. II, lib. iii. See my translation of the narrative of Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to the Land of Cinnamon, in *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons.* (Hakluyt Society, 1859.)

[2] The title of this chapter, in Gomara's *Historia de las Indias*, is "Of the great river of Orellana, and the great length of its course", p. 78. (Barcia ed.)

more than seventy leagues south of the mouth of the Orellana. It is in 3° S., and has more than twenty mouths. It rises in the great lakes on the flanks of Peru, that is to the east, and the lakes are formed of the great volume of waters that flows off the snowy cordillera in Peru. As these two great rivers enter the sea so close to each other, their waters unite, and are not separated by the sea, so that the sweet sea becomes larger, and the river of Orellana becomes more famous, because all is attributed to it. Owing to this junction, I suspect that they call the river of Orellana by the name of Marañon, applying the name as well as the waters, and so make one out of the two rivers.[1]

It remains to speak of the river Plate, called by the Indians Parahuay. In another place[2] I have explained why they gave it the Spanish name, and also the meaning of the Indian name. Its sources are, like those of the Marañon, in the wondrous chain of the snowy mountains which extends along the whole length of Peru. This river is visited by vast floods, when the waters cover the fields and villages, and the inhabitants are obliged to live in canoes during three months in the year. The canoes are fastened to the stems of trees until the floods abate. The river enters the sea in 36°, through a mouth more than thirty leagues wide, though the land narrows it near the sea, for eighty leagues higher up the river is fifty leagues across. If we add together the widths of the mouths of these four rivers, we may say that they enter the sea through a width of one hundred and thirty leagues, and this cannot fail to be considered one of the greatest wonders connected with Peru. Besides the four great rivers, there is a multitude of smaller streams, which enter the sea in all

[1] There is a confusion between the Orinoco and the Amazon, among old writers. The subject will be found discussed in my note at page 110 of "The Cruize of the Traitor Aguirre", in the *Search for El Dorado*. (Hakluyt Society, 1861.)

[2] See page 262.

directions, as may be seen on the marine charts, to which I refer the reader. If the small streams were united, they would make other rivers as large as the foregoing.

It would naturally be supposed that as there is so much water there would be plenty of fish, but in reality there is very little, at least in Peru, of which country alone I profess to speak, and not of other parts. It is thought that the scarcity of fish is due to the fury of the currents in the rivers, and to the small number of pools of still water that they form. It must also be known that the few fish that breed in Peru are very different from those of Spain. They all seem to be of the same sort, and to have skin instead of scales. The head is wide and flat, like that of a frog, and consequently the mouth is very broad. They are eaten with the skin, which is so thin that it is unnecessary to remove it. The Indians call them *challua*, which means "fish." Very few fish enter the rivers on the coast of Peru, because they are small and very rapid, though they cannot be forded in the winter, when they flow with still greater fury.

In the great lake of Titicaca, however, there are many fish; and though they seem to be the same kind as the fish of the rivers, the Indians call them *suchi*, for distinction. This fish is very fat, so that, in frying it, no other grease is necessary than its own. Another small fish also breeds in that lake, called by Spaniards *bogas*. I forget the Indian name.[1] It is very small and wretched, and tastes very nasty. It is also of an ugly shape, and, if I recollect aright, it has scales. Herring would be a better name for it, as it

[1] In the dialects of the Indians on the banks of lake Titicaca the *boga* fish were called *quesintuu* and *umantiuu*. There is another fish called *mauri*, which is very small. See *Bertonio Vocabulario*. D'Avalos y Figueroa gives the names of three fish, *suchi*, *queresa*, and *umanto*. The two fish from lake Titicaca, which Bertonio calls *quesintuu* and *umantiuu*, are now pronounced *quesi* and *umantu*. *Suchi* and *mauri* are also fish still known by those names.

is so small. Both sorts of fish are abundant in that great lake, because there is ample space for them, and plenty to eat in the stuff brought down by five large rivers that flow into it, besides many others of less account, and numerous streams. This will suffice for an account of the rivers, and of the fish that breed in that country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE EMERALDS, TORQUOISES, AND PEARLS.

The precious stones in Peru, in the time of the Kings Yncas, were torquoises and emeralds, and much very beautiful crystal, though they knew not how to work it. The emeralds are found in the province called Manta, within the jurisdiction of Puerto Viejo. But the Spaniards, in spite of all their diligence, have never been able to discover the place where the emeralds are found; so that now emeralds are scarcely found in that province, which formerly yielded the best in the whole empire. So many have been brought to Spain from the New Kingdom, that their price has gone down, and with good reason; for besides their abundance (which tends to reduce the price of all commodities) they are several *carats* less than those of Puerto Viejo. The emerald reaches perfection gradually, assuming its green colour little by little, just as fruit ripens on a tree. At first it is greying white, or between grey and green, and it commences to assume perfection on one of its four sides, probably the side which is turned to the east, as in the case of fruit. Thus the stone first assumes that rich colour on one side, then on the other, until it is all of the same brilliancy. But as the stone is taken from the mine, perfect or imperfect, so it remains. Among many others

that I saw in that country, I saw two emeralds at Cuzco, about the size of nuts, and nearly round, in full perfection, and bored through the centres. One of them was extremely perfect in all respects. The other was most beautiful over one quarter of its surface, possessing all possible perfection. Two other quarters were not so perfect, though the beauty and perfection were in course of maturing. The fourth side, opposite to the first, was ugly; for it had received very little of the green colour, and it was made more ugly by contrast with the beauty of the other parts. It looked like a piece of yellow glass fastened to the emerald, and its owner removed it, because it injured the look of the other parts. He was blamed by some connoisseurs for having done this. They said that the whole jewel should have been preserved intact, as a proof that the emerald gradually comes to maturity, and that it was extremely valuable. They gave me the part that had been cut off, I being but a boy, and I still have it in my possession, it having remained so long by me because it was of little value.

The torquoise stones are blue, some being of a more beautiful colour than others; but the Indians did not look upon them as so valuable as the emeralds.

Pearls were not used in Peru, although they were known, for the Yncas (who always cared more for the welfare of their people than for an increase of what we call riches, but which they never looked upon as such) seeing the toil and danger by which the pearls were got out of the sea, prohibited the practice, and thus pearls were not used by them. Since their time they have been obtained in such quantities, and have become so common, that Father Acosta makes the following remarks in the 15th chapter of his 4th book. What follows is copied word for word:—

"Now that we are treating of the principal riches of the Indies, it will not be right to omit the pearls, which were called by the ancients *Margaritas*. At first they were so

highly esteemed that they were looked upon as things which could only be used by royal personages; but now they are so common that they are even worn by negresses." At the end of the same chapter, after having previously stated very noteworthy things touching the ancient history of famous pearls, his Paternity says:—" Pearls are obtained from various parts of the Indies. They are found in greatest abundance in the South Sea, near Panama, where there are certain islands which for this reason are called the Pearl Islands. But the best are obtained in the North Sea, from the Rio de la Hacha. There I learnt how this profitable business is carried on, and the great risk and labour of the poor divers. These divers go down into depths of six, nine, and even twelve *brazas*, to seek for the shells, which are generally fastened to the rocks of the sea. From thence they pull them, and, having loaded themselves, they rise and put them into the canoes, where they are opened, and the treasures within are extracted. The cold of the water at that depth is very great, and much greater is the labour of holding the breath for a quarter of an hour at a time, and even for half an hour,[1] while they are gathering the shells. In order that the poor divers may be able to hold their breath, they are given very little food, and that very dry, and they must also be continent. Thus avarice has its abstainers, though it be in spite of themselves. They work" (this is an error of the press, and should be, they obtain) " the pearls in various ways. They are now very abundant. In the year 1587 I saw, in the report of the quantity received from the Indies for the King, that eighteen marks of pearls had come, besides three other boxes; and for private persons, one thousand two hundred and sixty-four marks of pearls, besides seven other bags. In other times this quantity would have been looked upon as fabulous."

Thus far is from Father Acosta, who here ends his

[1] Now, your reverence!

chapter. To what his Paternity says respecting the quantity of pearls being fabulous, I will here add two stories which occur to me. The first is as follows :—In about 1564, a year more or less, so many pearls arrived for His Majesty that they were sold at Seville, put out in a heap, as if they were so many seeds. The pearls were being sold by auction, and the sale was nearly over, when one of the royal ministers said to one who had offered a certain price, that he would give six thousand ducats for the outbidding. On hearing the bid, a thriving merchant, who thoroughly understood the trade, as he dealt in pearls, made a bid; but, though the bid was so great, he outbid, and was satisfied, for that time, with the six thousand ducats of gain which he had secured by only uttering one word. He who made the purchase remained much more content, for he expected greater profits from it. From the amount of the bid it may be imagined how great was the quantity of pearls. The other story is as follows :—I knew a youth in Spain of humble origin, who, though he was a good worker in gold, had no means, and worked by the day. This young man was in Madrid in 1562-3, and lodged at the same inn where I was staying. He was passionately fond of chess, but he lost at his favourite game all the money he made at his trade. I often remonstrated with him, warning him that his love of play would bring him into great misery. One day he said to me that his misery could never be greater than when, on foot, and with only fourteen *maravedis*, he entered that city. This poor youth, to try if he could extricate himself from his poverty, took to going to the Indies and back, to trade in pearls, of which he had some knowledge. He succeeded so well in his voyages and traffic, that he acquired more than 30,000 ducats. On the day of his nuptials (for I also knew his wife) he presented her with a black velvet gown, embroidered with pearls, and the border, a *sesma*[1] in width, ran round the foreskirt

[1] Sixth of a *vara*.

and the selvage, which was both superb and a novelty. The pearls were worth more than four thousand ducats. I mention this to show the incredible quantity of pearls that were brought from the Indies, besides those which I mentioned in the History of Florida (Book III, chap. 15 and 16), as having been found in many parts of that great kingdom, especially in the rich temple of the province called Cosachiqui. The eighteen marks of pearls (besides three other boxes of them) which Father Acosta mentions as having been brought for his Majesty, were selected as very fine; for there is a rule in the Indies for the setting apart of the finest pearls to give to his Majesty as his fifth. They go to his royal chamber, and thence find their way to purposes of sacred worship, and are used, as I saw them, on a mantle and skirt for the image of our Lady of Guadaloupe, and in an entire suit, consisting of a cloak, chasuble, dalmatica, front ornaments of the altar, stole, maniple, skirts of the alb, and openings of the sleeves. All were embroidered with very fine and large pearls, while the mantle and skirt were entirely covered, in a chessboard pattern. The white squares were covered with pearls sewn so as to look like small white mountains, and the alternate squares were masses of rubies and emeralds set in gold. The whole work was so well done as to do credit to the artificers who designed it and to the Christian King who thus disposed of his treasure, which is so great that none but the Emperor of the Indies could do a thing so magnificent, superb, and heroic.

To understand the vast wealth of this monarch, it would be well to read that fourth book and all the others of Father Acosta, where all the things are described which have been discovered in the New World. Among these, without wandering from the subject, I will relate what I saw at Seville in the year 1579. This was a pearl brought from Panama by a knight named Don Diego de Temez, and in-

tended for King Philip II. The pearl was of the size and shape of a good muscadine pear. It had the raised neck like a pear, and also the little indentation at the other end. Its circumference, at the largest part, was the same as that of a large pigeon's egg. It was valued, in the Indies, at twelve thousand *pesos*, or fourteen thousand four hundred *ducats*. Jacomo de Trenço, a Milanese, who was a distinguished artist and lapidary in the service of his Catholic Majesty, said that it was worth fourteen thousand, and thirty thousand, and fifty thousand, and a hundred thousand ducats, that in short it had no price, because it was the only one in the world, and was therefore called *la peregrina*. People went to see it in Seville as a wonderful thing. An Italian knight was then in the city, buying selected pearls, the best that could be found, for a great lord in Italy. He brought a great string of them, to compare with *la peregrina;* but they looked like pebbles from the river, by its side. Those who understood pearls and precious stones, said that it had twenty-four carats more than any other that had ever been found. A Negro lad, whom his master did not value at a hundred *reals*, found it in the fishery, and the shell was so small and wretched that they were going to toss it back into the sea because it appeared worthless. The slave received his liberty as a reward for his lucky discovery; and his master, also as a reward for the jewel, received the staff of chief magistrate of Panama. The pearls are not worked; for they cannot be touched, except for boring. They are used just as they are taken from the shells. Some are quite round; others less so; others oblóng; others flattened, so as to be round on one side and flat on the other. Others are found in the shape of a pear, and these are most valued, because they are very rare. When a merchant has one of these pear-shaped pearls, or a large and fine round one, and he hears of one of equal excellence in possession of another person, he uses all his efforts to buy it; for two pearls that are fellows are each worth double what one would be singly. If a single

pearl was worth a hundred ducats, two fellows would be worth two hundred ducats each, and four hundred together; for they can be used as ear-drops, which is the purpose for which they are most valued. They cannot be worked; for their natural texture is such that they would peel off like the leaves of an onion. The pearl becomes old in time, like all other corruptible things, and loses the bright and beautiful colour it possessed in its youth, becoming of a smoky grey hue. Then they peel off the outer coat, and discover a second of the same colour as at first; but this causes great injury to the jewel, as it loses a third part of its size. Those that are called *natas*,[1] from being very fine, are not included in this general rule.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Spain is a good witness of the wealth that has been obtained from Peru, in gold and silver. For in the last twenty-five years, without counting previous ones, they have annually brought twelve to thirteen millions of silver and gold, besides other things which do not enter into the calculation. Each million is worth ten times one hundred thousand ducats. Gold is collected throughout Peru, though in some provinces it is more abundant than in others. It is met with on the surface, and in the rivers and streams, where it is brought down by the freshes. Thence it is obtained by washing the earth and sand, as the silversmiths here wash the receptacles in their shops, which contain the sweepings. The Spaniards call that which is obtained by washing, gold-dust, because it comes out like filings. Occasionally nuggets are found, weighing two or three *pesos* or more. I have

[1] Cream.

even seen them equal to twenty *pesos*. Some are flat, like the pips of a melon or a calabash; others round; others long, like eggs. All the gold of Peru is of eighteen to twenty carats, a little more or less. Only that which is obtained from the mines of Callavaya or Callahuaya is much finer, being of twenty-four carats, and it is said to be even more, as I have been told by goldsmiths in Spain. In 1556 a stone was found in a chink, in one of the mines in Callahuaya, of the kind that is met with associated with the metal, the size of a man's head. Its colour was that of the lungs, and it was like the lungs in form; for it was bored full of large and small holes, which passed from one side to the other. In all these holes the ends of pieces of gold appeared, as if gold had been melted over it. Some points protruded; others were level with the stone; and others remained inside the holes. Those who understood mining said that if it were not removed, the whole stone would eventually be turned into gold. In Cuzco the Spaniards looked upon it as a wonderful thing, and the Indians called it *huaca*, which, among many other significations, means admirable, a thing worthy of admiration from its beauty. The owner of the stone, who was a rich man, determined to send it to Spain as it was, to be presented to Philip II as a valuable curiosity. I learnt in Spain from those who came in the same fleet, that the ship on board which the stone was, had been lost with much other wealth.[1]

Silver is obtained with more trouble than gold, and is prepared and purified at greater cost. Mines of silver have been found in many parts of Peru, but none equal to those of Potocsi, which were discovered and registered in the year 1545, fourteen years after the Spaniards entered that land. The hill, where the mines are, is called Potocsi. I know not what the word may mean in the special dialect of that province, but it means nothing in the general language

[1] The same story is told, with slight variations, in Caravaya. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 204.

of Peru. The hill is in the form of a sugar-loaf, rising out of a plain, and is a league round. Its height is more than a quarter of a league. The summit of the hill is round, and it is beautiful to look upon because it stands alone. Nature made it beautiful, because it was to become so famous throughout the world, as it now is. The top is occasionally covered with snow in the early morning, because the situation is cold. The site then belonged to Gonzalo Pizarro, as it afterwards did to Pedro[1] de Hinojosa. Father Acosta, in his fourth book, writes at large on the gold, silver, and mercury that is found in that empire; and I will therefore refrain from doing so. I will, however, briefly relate a few notable things of those times, and how they fluxed the metal before the discovery of mercury by the Spaniards. For further information I would refer the reader to that history, where he will find very curious details, especially on the subject of the quicksilver. The mines of the hill of Potocsi were discovered by certain Indians, servants of Spaniards, who are called *Yanacuna* in their language. The exact meaning of the word is "a man who is under the obligation to perform the duties of a servant."[2] These Indians, keeping the secret from friendship and good fellow-

[1] It should be Alonzo. He was a busy cavalier during the civil wars, distinguishing himself at the battle of Chupas, and narrowly escaped from Huarina, after the defeat of Centeno. See page 253, and note.

[2] Balboa gives the following version of the origin of the name *Yanacona*. Tupac Ynca Yupanqui had a brother who rebelled. The insurrection was put down, and six thousand Indians were surrounded in a village called *Yana-yacu*, who were accused of having made lances for the rebels. The Queen Mama Ocllo interceded for them, and they were spared on condition that they were always to work as servants of the Ynca and the Sun, and never to be counted among the rest of the inhabitants of the empire. The amnesty was granted at Yanayacu; hence they were called Yanayacu-cuna, corrupted to Yanacona. The name was eventually given to any servant of the palace; and the Spaniards adopted it for all Indians in domestic service, as distinguished from *mitayos* or regular labourers. Page 120 (*Ternaux Compans' ed.*)

I doubt this etymology. *Yana* means black, and also a servant. *Yana-cuna* is merely the plural form.

ship, enjoyed the benefits of the discovery for some days, but the wealth was so great, and the place was so exposed, that they saw it could not be concealed from their masters, and so they divulged it to them. The first vein was thus registered, and by it the others were discovered. Among the Spaniards who shared this good luck there was one named Gonzalo Bernel, who was afterwards steward to Alonzo Hinojosa. This man, soon after the discovery, speaking in presence of Diego Centeno (that famous cavalier) and many other noble persons, said, "The mines give promise of such wealth that, after they have been worked for a few years, iron will be more valuable than silver." This prophecy I saw fulfilled in the year 1554-55, when, during the war of Francisco Hernandez Giron, a horse-shoe was worth five *pesos* or six *ducats*, and a mule's shoes four dollars, and two nails for shoeing were worth a *tomin*, which is equal to fifty-six *maravedis*. I saw a pair of gaiters bought for thirty-six *ducats*, and a quire of paper for four *ducats*. A yard of fine cloth of Valencia cost sixty *ducats*, and in the same proportion the fine cloths of Segovia, the silks and other merchandize of Spain; for during the two years of the war no fleet came to Peru with goods from Spain. The abundance of silver that the mines yielded also during the three or four years previous to the time I have named, caused a basket of the leaf called *cuca* to be sold at twenty-six *ducats*, and a *fanega* of wheat at twenty-four to twenty-six ducats. Maize was worth as much, and similar prices were obtained for clothing and shoes, and for jars of wine, until it became plentiful. Wine was sold at two hundred and more ducats the jar. Yet, although the land is so rich in gold, and silver, and precious stones, as all the world knows, the natives of it are more poor and miserable than any others in the universe.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE QUICKSILVER, AND HOW THEY FLUXED THE METAL BEFORE QUICKSILVER WAS DISCOVERED.

We have already said that the Kings Yncas had discovered quicksilver, and admired it for its slippery movements; but they knew not what to make of it, nor how to use it. They could not turn it to any purpose, while they saw that it was injurious to the lives of those who worked to procure it, for it caused them to tremble, and lose their feeling. For this reason, being Kings who cared much for the welfare of their people, in accordance with their title of Lovers of the Poor, they prohibited its being extracted, by a law. The Indians, therefore, abominated it to such an extent that they even let its name drop from memory and from their language. Thus they have no name for mercury, except those that have been adopted since the Spaniards discovered it in 1567. As these Indians had no letters, they very soon forgot any word that fell out of common use. The Yncas, however, used, and permitted their vassals to use, a very rich colour that is found amongst the minerals associated with the mercury, in a powder. The Indians call it *ychma*,[1] and the word *llimpi*,[2] given by Father Acosta, is the name of a purple colour obtained from another mineral, for there are all sorts of colours in that land. The Indians were fond of the beauty of that *ychma* colour, but the Yncas ordered them not to use it, lest they should injure themselves by searching for it in the caverns. It was only used by ladies of the blood royal, and not by men, as I can witness; and the women who used it were young and beautiful, for those of mature age refrained, it being considered to be more

[1] Vermilion.

[2] *Llimpi* means a polished, shining thing. *Llimpi-cuna* means all sorts of colours.

adapted for an ornament of youth than of age. Even the girls did not put it on their cheeks as rouge is applied in Spain, but in a line from the corners of the eyes to the temples, put on with a small stick, like antimony. The line thus drawn was the width of a straw of wheat, and it looked well. The *Pallas* used no other paint but the *ychma* powder, and even this was not applied every day, but only on festive occasions. Their faces were kept clean, and the same was the case with all the womankind among the common people. It is true that those who prided themselves on the beauty of their faces used a little milky stuff, made of I know not what, to preserve the complexion instead of paint, and they left it on for nine days. At the end of that time they took off the milk from their faces, a film coming with it, and leaving the skin and complexion improved. The *ychma* was very scarce among the Indians, because the vassals were excused from getting it. An author states that they painted their faces with different colours in war time, and at their festivals; but this the Yncas never did, nor did any of their vassals. The practice was confined to some tribes who were looked upon as fierce and savage.

It remains to explain how they fluxed the silver before they discovered the quicksilver. Near the hill of Potocchi[1] there is another small hill of the same shape, which the Indians call Huayna Potocchi. This means Potocchi the youth, to distinguish it from the larger hill, which, after they found the small one, was called Hatun Potocchi; and this is much the same as if they called them father and son. The silver was extracted from the great hill, where there was difficulty, at first, in fluxing it, because there was no other way except to burn and consume it in smoke; and the Indians did not know the cause, though they had succeeded with other metals. But as necessity or avarice is a great master, especially in concerns of gold and silver,

[1] Garcilasso spells Potosi in two ways: both *Potocsi* and *Potocchi*.

such diligence was exercised in seeking for contrivances that at last one was found. In the small hill they found a base metal, nearly all lead, which, mixed with silver, made a flux. It was, therefore, called *surachec*, which means "what makes anything slip." They mixed the two metals according to a rule; to so many pounds of silver so many ounces of lead, more or less, according to the teachings of experience from day to day: for all the silver ores are not of the same kind, some containing more silver than others, though taken out of the same vein; for on some days the ores contain more silver, on others less, and, according to the richness of each ore, they applied the *surachec*. The metal was then fused in small portable ovens, like tubes of clay. They did not fuse with bellows, nor by blowing with tubes of copper, in the way we mentioned in another place that they fused the gold and silver to work it; for, though they tried this plan many times, the metal would never run, nor could the Indians ascertain the cause, so they applied the natural wind. It was also necessary to temper the wind, for if it was very strong it wasted the charcoal and made the metal cold, and if it was gentle there was not sufficient force to flux the metal. They, therefore, went up the hills at night, and put it on the high or low declivities, according to whether the wind was high or not, so as to adapt the exposure, according as it was more or less open. It was a beautiful sight in those times to see ten to fifteen thousand little furnaces burning on the hill sides. There they made their first melting. The second and third were done in their houses with the pipes of copper, to purify the silver and expend the lead; for, as the Indians did not then possess the strong water and other ingredients for separating the precious metals from the copper and lead, they effected the same object by melting it many times over. It was in this way that the Indians melted the silver in Potocsi before quicksilver was

found, and still the old method is retained to some extent, though not as in former days.

The owners of the mines, seeing that by this way of melting, by means of the natural wind, they entrusted their wealth to many hands, desired to remedy this state of things, and to secure all the metal, by making their own melting furnaces instead of trusting to the Indians. Formerly the ores were delivered to the Indians on condition that they brought back to the owner of the mine a certain proportion of silver for every quintal of ores that they received. Influenced by this avaricious feeling, the masters made very large bellows, which blew up the furnaces from a distance, like natural wind. Then they made machines and wheels with sails, like those for windmills, which were drawn by horses. But none of these contrivances answered, and things were allowed to go on as before. Twenty-two years passed away, and in 1567 the quicksilver was discovered, through the ingenuity and cunning of a Portuguese named Enrique Garcès, who found it in the Huanca province. I know not why they added the appellation *villca*, which means grandeur and superiority, unless it be to express the abundance of quicksilver that is extracted there;[1] for, without counting waste, they get out eight thousand quintals for his Majesty every year, which are equal to thirty-two thousand *arrobas*. Although it was found in such abundance, it was not used for getting out the silver, for no one understood the process until, in the year 1571, a Spaniard named Pedro Fernandez de Velasco came to Peru, who had seen the silver worked with quicksilver in Mexico. All this is explained at large by Father Acosta, to whom once more I refer him who desires to learn many things which are worth knowing.

[1] Huancavelica is the corrupted modern name.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

NINTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IT CONTAINS—

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT DEEDS AND THE MAGNANIMITY OF HUAYNA CCAPAC. THE CONQUESTS HE MADE. HIS PUNISHMENT OF DIVERS REBELS. HIS PARDON OF THE CHACHAPUYAS. THE MAKING OF HIS SON ATAHUALLPA KING OF QUITU. THE TIDINGS RECEIVED OF THE SPANIARDS, AND THE DECLARATION OF PROGNOSTICATIONS CONCERNING THEM. AN ACCOUNT OF THE THINGS THE SPANIARDS HAVE INTRODUCED INTO PERU, WHICH WERE NOT THERE BEFORE. THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO BROTHERS, HUASCAR AND ATAHUALLPA. THE MISFORTUNES OF ONE AND THE CRUELTIES OF THE OTHER.

IT CONTAINS FORTY CHAPTERS.

THE NINTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

HUAYNA CCAPAC ORDERS A GOLDEN CABLE TO BE MADE. WHY, AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE.

THE powerful Huayna Ccapac, being now absolute lord of his empire, passed the first year in celebrating the obsequies of his father. Then he set out to visit his provinces, where he was received, with a magnificent welcome, by his vassals. Wherever he went the Curacas and Indians came forth to cover the roads with flowers and boughs, and to build triumphal arches of the same material. They shouted out his royal titles, and that which was most often heard was his own name. The words Huayna Ccapac, Huayna Ccapac, were repeated, those being the titles which did him most honour, because he had merited them from his childhood. Father José de Acosta, among other great things that he says in his praise, has the following passage in the twenty-second chapter of his sixth book:—"This Huayna Ccapac was adored by his people as God, during his lifetime. This is affirmed by the old men, and the same thing is never said of any of his predecessors."

While he was making this progress through the empire, the Ynca Huayna Ccapac received the news of the birth of a son and heir, who was afterwards named Huascar Ynca. This prince had been so long looked for that his father desired to be at the festivities for the celebration of his birth, and therefore returned to Cuzco as quickly as possible,

where he was received with all the demonstrations of joy that the occasion required. Huayna Ccapac rejoiced greatly at the birth of his son, and the solemnities of the festival lasted for more than twenty days. He began to think of some great and hitherto unequalled mode of celebrating the day of weaning and cutting the first hairs, when the name is given. This, as we have explained in another place, was among the most solemn festivals that were celebrated by those kings, as well as by all classes of their people, who thought much of their first-born sons.

Among other grand things that were designed for the festival, was the chain of gold, so famous throughout the world, which to this day, though much sought after, has never been seen by the invaders. The Ynca chose the occasion we have mentioned, for ordering it to be made. It must be understood that each province of Peru had a way of dancing peculiar to itself; so that the different nations were distinguished by their dances, as well as by their head-dresses. These dances were permanent, and were never exchanged, one for another. The Yncas had a stately dance, without hops, jumps, or other movements such as were parts of all the other dances. It was the men who danced, and they did not allow women to mix with them. They held hands, each one giving a hand, not to his neighbour, but to the next man but one, and they passed every other one, giving first one hand and then the other, until they came to the last, as it were, in a chain. Two or three hundred men danced together, and even more, according to the importance of the festival. They commenced the dance at some distance from the prince before whom it was performed. They then began together, with three steps, one backwards and two in advance, like those which, in Spanish dances, are called *dobles* and *represas*. With these steps, going and coming, they constantly gained ground until they were half way to the position where the Ynca sat. They

sang in parts while they advanced, that they might not get tired, as would have been the case if they had all sung together. Their songs were accompaniments to the dance, and were composed in praise of the Ynca, of his ancestors, or of others of the blood royal who were famous for deeds done in peace or war. The Yncas, who stood around, joined in the song, because the festival should be celebrated by all; and sometimes the king himself danced on solemn occasions, to make the festival more important.

For the taking of hands to make a chain, the Ynca Huayna Ccapac gave orders that a chain of gold should be made; for it seemed to him that it would increase the solemnity and majesty of the occasion if the dancers performed the figure holding to a chain, instead of taking hands. I had a special account of this deed, besides the common report, from the old Ynca who was my mother's uncle, and whom I mentioned at the beginning of this history as having related to me the ancient traditions of his ancestors. I asked him what was the length of the chain, and he told me that it was twice the width and length of the great square at Cuzco, where the principal festivals were solemnised, though the requirements of the dance did not necessitate its being so long. The Ynca ordered it to be made thus, for his greater magnificence, and for the more special adornment of the festival of his son, whose birth he desired to celebrate with unusual splendour. It is unnecessary to mention the size of the square that the Indians call Huacaypata, to those who have seen it. But for the benefit of those who have never been there, I may say that, from north to south, I think the length would be about two hundred ordinary paces of two feet each; and the width, from east to west, might be about a hundred and fifty paces to the stream, including the space occupied by the houses which the Spaniards built on it in 1556, my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega being then Corregidor of that great city. According

to this measurement the chain must have been three hundred and fifty paces long, which is equal to seven hundred feet. When I asked the same Indian touching its thickness, he raised his right arm and, putting out the thumb, he said that each link was of that thickness. The Accountant-General, Agustin de Zarate, in the fourteenth chapter of his first book, to which I have already referred in relating the incredible riches of the palaces of the Yncas, says wonderful things of the royal treasure. It seems well to quote, in this place, what he says touching this chain, which is as follows, copied word for word :—

"When his son was born, Guaynacava ordered a cable of gold to be made, so thick (according to the accounts of many Indians now living) that two hundred *Orejones* who held it, were scarcely able to raise it. In memory of this famous jewel they called that son *Huasca*, which, in their language, means a chain, with the surname of Inga, which was that of all their kings, just as the Roman emperors were all called Augustus," etc.

So far is from that knightly historian of Peru. The Indians concealed this rich and noble piece of work, with the rest of the treasures which disappeared, as soon as the Spaniards entered the country, and this was done so effectually that no trace of them has ever been discovered. As that famous, rich, and noble jewel was used for the first time at the shearing and naming of the young and princely heir to the empire, they added the surname of Huascar to his own name, which was Yuti Cusi Huallpa, in order to give more value and importance to the jewel. *Huasca* means a cable, and, as the Indians of Peru had no word for a chain, they called a chain by their name for a rope, adding the word for the metal of which the chain was made, as we here say—a chain of gold, of silver, or of iron. In order that the name *Huasca* might not sound ill as that of a prince, they disguised it by adding the letter *r* in the latter syllable. With

this addition the word means nothing at all, as they wished to preserve the name but not its signification. Thus was the name of Huascar given to that prince, and it was so generally adopted that his own vassals called him by it, instead of by his proper name, which was *Ynti Cusi Huallpa*, or "Huallpa, the Sun of Joy". In those days the Yncas were very powerful, and, as power generally incites men to be proud and vain, they were not contented to give their prince some name from among those which meant grandeur and majesty, but they must raise their thoughts to heaven, and take the name of that which they honoured and worshipped as a God, to give it to a man. They called him *Ynti*, which in their language means "the Sun", and *Cusi*, which signifies "joy, pleasure, satisfaction", or "delight". This will suffice touching the names and surnames of the Prince Huascar Ynca. Returning to his father Huayna Ccapac, it must be understood that, having given the necessary orders touching the chain and the other magnificent things which were to be prepared for the solemnity of shearing and naming his son, he returned to the inspection of his dominions, which he had left unfinished, and continued his journeys for more than two years, when the time arrived for the weaning of his son. Then he returned to Cuzco, where the grandest festivals were held that can possibly be imagined, and on that occasion the proper name, as well as the surname of Huascar, were given to the prince.

CHAPTER II.

TEN VALLEYS ON THE COAST ARE SUBJUGATED, AND TUMPIZ SUBMITS.

A year after this solemn festival Huayna Ccapac ordered forty thousand warriors to be assembled, and marched with

them to the kingdom of Quitu. During that expedition he took the eldest daughter of the king, who lost that kingdom, to be his concubine.[1] She had since been in the house of the chosen virgins. He had by her Atahuallpa,[2] and his other brothers, whom we shall meet with in the history. From Quitu the Ynca descended into the valleys on the sea coast, with the intention of conquering them. He arrived in the valley of Chimu, now called Truxillo, which was the point to which his grandfather, the good Ynca Yupanqui, had extended his dominions, as has already been narrated. Thence he sent the usual offers of a choice between peace or war to the inhabitants of the valleys of Chacma and Pacasmayu, which are further north. These people had for years been neighbours of the vassals of the Ynca, and knowing the gentle character of the government of those kings, they had long desired to be ruled by them. They, therefore, answered that they rejoiced at being vassals of the Ynca, and at obeying his laws and observing his religion. Following the example of these valleys, eight others also submitted, between Pacasmayu and Tumpiz, called Caña, Collque, Cintu, Tucmi, Sayanca, Mutupi, Puchiu, and Sulluna. These operations occupied two years, which were employed more in increasing cultivation, and in constructing channels for irrigation than in subduing the people; for most of them submitted very willingly. During this interval the Ynca ordered his army to be relieved three or four times by other men, to avoid the risk incurred by mountaineers in living on the coast; for one region is hot, and the other cold.

[1] Velasco tries, but unsuccessfully, to prove that this was a legitimate marriage (vol. ii, p. 20).

[2] Montesinos says that his proper name was Huaypar Titu Yupanqui, and that he received the name of Atahualpa from his nurse, a native of the village of Atahu, near Cuzco; to which she added *alpa*, meaning good or sweet. But there is no such village near Cuzco, and *alpa* means nothing of the kind.

After the subjugation of those valleys the Ynca returned to Quitu, where he spent two years in adorning that kingdom with sumptuous edifices and great irrigation channels, and in conferring many other benefits on the inhabitants. At the end of that time he ordered an army of fifty thousand men to be assembled, with which he descended to the coast valleys, and came to Sullana, a place on the sea-shore near Tumpiz. He then sent offers of peace or war to the people of Tumpiz, who were more luxurious and vicious than any of the other coast tribes that had been conquered by the Yncas. This nation wore a distinguishing mark on the head, like a garland, which was called *pillu*.[1] The chiefs had buffoons, singers, and dancers who ministered to their ease and contentment. They practised the infamous crime, worshipped tigers and lions, and sacrificed human hearts and blood. These chiefs were well served by their own people, and feared by their neighbours; but, for all this, they offered no resistance to the Ynca, fearing his great power. The same submission came from other valleys on the coast, and other districts inland, called Chunana, Chintuy, Collonche, Jaquall, and many others in that direction.

CHAPTER III.

THE PUNISHMENT OF THOSE WHO KILLED THE MINISTERS OF TUPAC YNCA YUPANQUI.

The Ynca entered Tumpiz, and, among other royal works, he ordered a beautiful fortress to be erected, in which he placed a garrison of warriors. They also built a temple of the Sun and a convent of chosen virgins. These works being completed, he marched into the provinces where they killed the officers, ministers, and masters whom his father,

[1] A Quichua word.

Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, had sent to instruct the people in his doctrine and customs, as has already been mentioned. The inhabitants were terrified at the thought of their delinquencies. Huayna Ccapac sent messages ordering them to come at once and give an account of their evil deeds, and receive the merited punishment. Those nations did not dare to resist; for their treason and ingratitude accused them, while they were discouraged by the great power of the Ynca. So they came to give themselves up, and beg forgiveness for their crime.

The Ynca ordered that all the Curacas, ambassadors, councillors, captains, and chief men who had advised and sent the embassy to his father, when they asked for ministers to be sent to them, should be brought before him, as he desired to address them in a body. A master of the camp, by order of the Ynca, then addressed a speech to them, denouncing their treachery and cruelty, in having murdered the ministers of the Ynca, instead of adoring them for the benefits they would have conferred in leading them from the habits of brutes, and teaching them those of men. For these crimes they were told that they deserved punishment, and that, if they were chastised as they deserved, the whole of their nation would perish, without distinction of sex or age. But the Ynca Huayna Ccapac, mindful of his natural clemency, and of his title "Huaccha-cuyac", which means the Lover of the Poor, had resolved to pardon all the common people, while those present, who had been the authors and perpetrators of the treason, and merited death with all their families, would also be pardoned. But, as a memorial of their treason, and in punishment of their crime, one-tenth of them would be put to death. They would draw lots, in tens, and the most unlucky would be executed, in order that it might not be said that the Ynca, from rage and fury, had selected the most hateful. The Ynca also commanded that the Curacas and chief men of the Huancavillca nation, who had been the chief instigators of the embassy and subse-

quent treason, should pull out two of their upper and two of their lower teeth, and that this should be done by their descendants for ever, in memory of their having lied when they made promises of fidelity and submission to the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui.

These sentences were executed, and all those nations received their punishment with much humility, considering themselves fortunate; for they expected to have been massacred for their treachery. No crime had hitherto been punished so severely as rebellion after a people had once become part of the empire of the Yncas, because those kings were highly offended when, in place of rejoicing at the benefits they received, any of the conquered people were so ungrateful as to rebel and kill the ministers of the Ynca. The whole Huancavillca nation received the punishment with more submission and humility than any of the others; because, as the authors of the crime, they had feared that they would be totally exterminated. But when they saw that the chastisement was so temperate and was executed upon so few, and that the pulling out of the teeth was confined to the Curacas and captains, the nation felt that they had been favoured, rather than punished. The whole of that nation, both men and women, with one accord, adopted as an honourable distinction, the punishment that was inflicted on their captains, because it had been ordered by the Ynca. They all pulled out their teeth, and those of their sons and daughters, as soon as the second set was cut, from henceforth. Thus, like a rude and barbarous people as they were, they rejoiced more at the absence of punishment than at the reception of benefits.

I knew an Indian of that nation in Cuzco, in the house of my father, who gave me a full account of the event above narrated. The Huancavillcas, men and women, bored the cartilage between their nostrils, and wore there a jewel of gold or silver. I remember having been acquainted, in my

youth, with a chestnut horse, belonging to a fellow townsman, who had Indians. The horse was a very good one; but, as it was broken-winded, they bored its nose above the nostrils. The Indians, astonished at such a novelty, called the horse Huancavillca, because its nostrils were bored through.

CHAPTER IV.

THE YNCA VISITS THE PROVINCES OF HIS EMPIRE. HE CONSULTS THE ORACLES, AND CONQUERS THE ISLAND OF PUNA.

The Ynca Huayna Ccapac, having punished these provinces, and reduced them to his service, left there the necessary garrison, and ascended the mountains to visit the kingdom of Quitu. He then returned to the south, and travelled through his empire from the city of Cuzco to Charcas, a distance of more than seven hundred leagues. He sent officers to visit the kingdom of Chile, whence he and his father received much gold. The Ynca passed four years in this inspection of his provinces, and rested for two more at Cuzco. After that period had elapsed he ordered 50,000 warriors to be assembled in the provinces of Chinchasuyu north of Cuzco, and to march to the frontier of Tumpiz. The Ynca then descended to the coast plains, and visited the temples of the Sun that had been erected in that region. He also went to the rich temple of Pachacamac, whom they worshipped as an unknown god. He commanded the priests to consult the demon who spoke there, touching the conquest which the Ynca was then planning. The answer was that he should undertake it, and that he would be victorious, because he had been chosen as Lord of the four quarters of the world. He then went to the valley of Rimac, where was the famous speaking idol; and ordered

that it should be consulted, to comply with the agreement that the Yncas should venerate that idol, which was made between his great grandfather and the Yuncas. Having received a babbling and flattering answer, he marched onwards, visiting all the valleys as far as Tumpiz. Thence he sent the usual offers of peace or war to the natives of the island of Puna, which is not far distant from the mainland, fertile and prolific. This island is twelve leagues round, and its chief, whose name was Tumpalla, was very proud. No superior had ever been recognised either by himself or his ancestors, and they even claimed to be the superiors of all the neighbouring chiefs on the mainland. Hence they waged perpetual wars, and this was the reason they could not resist the Ynca, for they might have made a long defence if they had been united. Tumpalla received the summons of the Ynca with much sorrow. He was vicious as well as proud, and had many women and boys. He sacrificed human hearts and blood to his idols, which were tigers and lions, besides the gods common to all the people of the coast, which were the sea and fishes, which they invoked for larger supplies to kill for food. Before replying to the Ynca, he assembled the principal men of the island, and said with much grief:—"Foreign tyranny is at the doors of our houses and threatens to take them from us, and to kill us, if we do not submit. Yet if we acknowledge another Lord, he will deprive us of our ancient liberty, jurisdiction, and lordship which were transmitted to us by our remote ancestors. The new lord will not trust us, but will order us to build towers and fortresses for garrisons maintained at our own cost, that we may never more aspire to be free. He will deprive us of our best possessions, of our most beautiful wives and daughters, and, worst of all, he will abolish our ancient customs and give us new laws, ordering us to worship strange gods, and to discard those that are familiar to us. In fine, he will make us live in

perpetual slavery and vassalage, and I know not whether it is not better to die at once. I charge you to consider what is best to be done, and to advise me what course to take."

The Indians consulted for a long time amongst themselves, they deplored the small number of their forces to resist those of so powerful a tyrant, while their neighbours on the mainland were unfriendly owing to the numerous petty wars that had been waged between them. Seeing that there was no hope of being able to maintain their liberty, and that they must all perish if they attempted to make an armed resistance, they determined to adopt the course which appeared to be least bad, and to submit to the Ynca with feigned devotion, biding their time until there was an opportunity of throwing off his yoke. With this intention the Curaca Tumpalla not only answered the messengers with words of peace and submission, but sent his own ambassadors with rich presents, and offers of obedience to the Ynca, praying him to favour his new vassals and their island with his royal presence, which would be to them a source of all the felicity they could desire.

The Ynca considered that he was well served by the Curaca Tumpalla. He ordered possession to be taken of his land, and that preparations should be made for conveying the army to the island. All things being made ready as well as time would permit, though not with the ostentation that Tumpalla and his people would have wished, the Ynca crossed over to the island, where he was received with great displays of dancing and songs composed in praise of the greatness of Huayna Ccapac. They lodged him in some palaces lately built, at least such parts as were to be used by the royal person, for it was not decent for him to sleep where any one else had slept before. Huayna Ccapac was some days in the island, arranging the government in conformity with his laws and ordinances. He ordered the natives of the island, as well as their neighbours on the

mainland, where there was a great confusion of tribes and languages (who had also submitted to the Ynca), to abandon their gods, and the practice of sacrificing and eating human flesh; and to worship the Sun as universal god, living like men under just and reasonable laws. He issued this command as Ynca and child of the Sun, and as legislator of that great empire forbidding them to disobey either the whole or part, on pain of death. Tumpalla and his people said that they would comply with the orders of the Ynca.

After the festival of promulgating the laws and precepts of the Ynca, the Curacas had time to consider the strictness of the laws, and how opposite they were to their own pleasures and pastimes. They longed after their vicious ways, and they conjured the people of the island and the adjacent mainland to kill the Ynca and all his people, by treachery, on the first occasion that offered itself. They consulted their abandoned gods, which they secretly put back into decent places, in order to renew their friendship and favour with them. They offered up many sacrifices, and made great promises, seeking for advice and council, and a reply to their inquiries whether their enterprise would succeed or not. They were informed by the Devil that they should persevere, for that they would have the support of their native gods. The barbarians became so proud, after receiving this answer, that they wanted to attempt the deed without more delay; but their diviners and sorcerers induced them to wait for an opportunity when it could be done with less danger and more safety, saying that this was the advice of their gods.

CHAPTER V.

THE PEOPLE OF PUNA KILL THE OFFICERS OF HUAYNA CCAPAC.

While the Curacas were thus conspiring, the Ynca and his councillors were engaged in arranging the government of those nations, for more time was generally bestowed upon that than upon conquering them. For this purpose it was necessary to send certain officers of the blood-royal to the nations on the mainland, that, like all the other people in the empire, they might be instructed in the false religion, laws, and customs of the Yncas. Orders were also given to form garrisons in readiness for war. The natives were ordered to convey the Ynca captains by sea in their *balsas* as far as the mouth of a river, where they were to land, in order to fulfil their instructions. Having made these arrangements, the Ynca returned to Tumpiz, to attend to other important affairs connected with his government, for those Princes had no other object but the good of their subjects. Thus the Father Blas Valera very appropriately calls them fathers of families, and careful guardians of pupils. Doubtless he adopted these names because they were translations of titles which the Indians themselves gave to their Yncas, calling them lovers and benefactors of the poor.

The captains, as soon as the King had departed from the island, prepared to go where he had ordered them. They gave directions for *balsas* to be got ready for them, to cross that arm of the sea. The Curacas, who had conspired together, seeing that this was a good opportunity for practising their treachery, would not bring all the *balsas* they could; but resolved to convey the captains in two voyages, so that they might more easily execute their plan, which was to kill them on the sea. Half the captains and their followers embarked, all being chosen men. They were

handsomely dressed as men whose duties were near the royal person, and all were Yncas, either by blood or by privilege of the first Ynca. When they reached a certain point on the sea, where the natives had resolved to perpetrate their treason, they cut the ropes by which the poles of the *balsa* were fastened together, and cast all the captains and people, who were quite off their guard, into the water. Then the native sailors, with the oars and with the betrayed people's own arms, which were thus turned against their owners, killed them all, without leaving one alive, although the Yncas began to swim in the hope of saving their lives. The Indians generally know how to swim, but this did not avail them; for those of the coast, being so used to the sea, had the same advantage over the inland Indians as marine animals have over those which live on the land. Thus the islanders remained with the victory, and they enjoyed the spoils, which were rich and numerous. They joyfully saluted each other from *balsa* to *balsa*, and wished each other joy of their deed, thinking, like a rude and barbarous race as they were, that not only were they free from the power of the Ynca, but that they were strong enough to deprive him of his empire. Full of this presumptuous vanity, they returned, with all possible dissimulation, for the other captains and soldiers who had remained on the island, took them on board, and killed them in the same place and in the same way as they had killed their companions. They did the same on the island and in the other confederated provinces, killing all who had been left as governors, ministers of justice, and collectors of the revenues of the Sun and of the Ynca. They killed them with great cruelty, and with much contempt for the royal person. They put their heads near the doors of their temples, and sacrificed the hearts and the blood to their gods, fulfilling in this the promises they had made to the devils at the beginning of the rebellion, to gain their favour and assistance in these acts of treachery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PUNISHMENT THAT WAS INFLICTED UPON THE REBELS.

When the Ynca Huayna Ccapac heard these evil tidings, he showed great concern at the death of so many nobles of the blood royal, who were experienced in affairs, and who would now remain without burial, to be eaten by the fishes. He covered himself with mourning to show his grief. The mourning of those kings was the grey colour, which is here called *vellori*.[1] When the time of mourning was over, he was enraged. He called together his troops, and marched rapidly to those rebellious provinces which were on the main land, who were subdued with great ease, because they were neither warlike, nor wise in council, nor sufficiently numerous to resist the Ynca.

Having subdued these nations, the Ynca crossed over to the island. The natives made some resistance on the sea, but it was so slight that they were soon conquered. The Ynca ordered all the principal authors and instigators of the rebellion, and all the chief captains and soldiers who were engaged in the murder of his officers to be seized. Then one of the Ynca's masters of the camp addressed them in a discourse in which he denounced their wickedness and treachery, and the cruelty with which they had treated those who only sought to do them good, and to teach them to abandon their savage ways and to live like men. He said that the Ynca was unable to exercise his usual clemency and piety, because justice would not permit it, for that the greatness of the crime made any remission of chastisement impossible. The Ynca ordered them to be punished with the deaths that their base treachery deserved. As soon as the sentence had been pronounced, they were put to death in the various ways that they had adopted in the murder of the

[1] *Vellori* is broad-cloth of the natural colour of the wool.

officers of the Ynca. Some were thrown into the sea, fastened to heavy weights. Others were stuck upon poles, as a punishment for having stuck the heads of the Yncas on lances and poles at the doors of their temples. Others were beheaded and quartered. Others were killed with their own arms, because they had done the same to the captains and soldiers. Others were hanged. Pedro de Cieza de Leon, having related the history of this rebellion and its punishment at greater length than any other event connected with the Yncas, sums up what he had before said, with these words. They are taken from his fifty-third chapter:—

"Thus thousands were put to death in various ways, and the chiefs who formed the conspiracy were impaled or hanged. After he had inflicted a great and terrible punishment on these Indians, Huayna Ccapac ordered that the misfortune which had befallen his followers should be recorded in songs, and sung in seasons of mourning; for such subjects are recited in their language in elegies. He also ordered a causeway to be made along the river of Guayaquil, which, judging from some parts that may still be seen, must have been a superb work, but it was never finished. It is called the 'passage of Huayna Ccapac'. Having inflicted this punishment, he ordered that all the natives should obey his governor, who was in the fortress of Tumbez, and having arranged these matters, the Ynca departed from that province."[1] Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza.

CHAPTER VII.

REBELLION OF THE CHACHAPUYAS, AND THE MAGNANIMITY OF HUAYNA CCAPAC.

While the King Huayna Ccapac was giving orders for his return to Cuzco, and for visiting his provinces, many Ca-

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 197.

ciques came from the coast valleys with rich presents consisting of the best their land produced. Among other things, they brought a very fierce lion and tiger, which the Ynca valued very much and ordered to be guarded with great care. Farther on we shall relate a great wonder that God our Lord worked by means of those animals, in favour of the Christians, through which the Indians worshipped them, declaring that they were children of the Sun.[1]

The Ynca Huayna Ccapac set out from Tumbez, having made the necessary arrangements for its government in peace and war, and visited half his empire, as far as the Chichas, which is the extreme south point of Peru, intending to visit the other half, which is more to the east, on his return. From Chichas he sent officers to visit Tucma, which the Spaniards call Tucuman, and others to the kingdom of Chile. He ordered them to take with them plenty of cloth and other royal presents for the captains and royal ministers of those kingdoms, and for the native Curacas, that they might receive these gifts in the name of the Ynca, which increased their value among those Indians. In passing through Cuzco, both going and returning, he visited the fortress which was now approaching completion. He put his own hand to some part of the work, to animate the workmen, and encourage the masters. He was occupied for more than four years in these journeys, and at the end

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 193. The passage is quoted by Garcilasso de la Vega, Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 2. When the ship of Pizarro arrived at Tumbez, there was some hesitation as to landing among a hostile people, and a Greek named Pedro de Candia volunteered to go first. Putting on a coat of mail reaching to the knees, with a sword by his side and a cross in his hand, he walked towards the town with an air as if he had been lord of the whole province. The Indians, to find out what manner of man he was, let loose a lion and a tiger upon him, but the animals crouched at his feet. Pedro de Candia gave the Indians to understand that the virtue of the cross he held in the hand had been the cause of this miracle. He returned to the ship, which sailed back to Panama.

of that time he ordered an army to be assembled for the conquest of the sea coast to the north of Tumpiz. But when he was in the province of the Cañaris, on the way to Quitu whence to descend to the coast, he received news that the great province of the Chachapuyas, seeing him occupied in such important wars and conquests, had rebelled. They were confident in the rugged character of their country, and in the number and valour of their warriors. They had killed the governors and captains of the Ynca, and many of the soldiers, and had taken others with the intention of making slaves of them. Huayna Ccapac received these tidings with very great sorrow and anger. He ordered that the soldiers, who were advancing by many roads to the coast, should return towards the province of Chachapuya, where he intended to inflict severe chastisement; and he himself repaired to the point where his forces were to unite. While he was waiting for them to assemble, the Ynca sent messengers to the Chachapuyas, offering them pardon if they would return to their allegiance. Instead of returning a proper answer, they ill-treated the messengers, and menaced them with death; at which the Ynca was indignant, and hurried the march of his army. He advanced with his troops to a great river,[1] where many *balsas* were collected, made of a very light wood, which is called in the general language of Peru *chuchau*.[2]

The Ynca, perceiving that it would be unadvisable to send his army across the river by fours and sixes in these *balsas*, ordered a bridge to be made by joining them together, like a hurdle floating on the water. The Indians, both soldiers and servants, worked so diligently that the bridge was finished in a single day. The Ynca crossed, with his army formed in squadrons, and marched rapidly to Cassamarquilla, which is one of the principal villages of that province. He came with the intention of destroying and desolating it, be-

[1] The Marañon.

[2] *Agave Americana.*

cause this prince prided himself on being as severe and rigorous with rebels, as he was gentle and kind to the humble and submissive.

The rebels, having heard of the rage of the Ynca and the power of his army, began too late to know their crime, and to fear its punishment. Knowing not what to do, and feeling that they had increased their chief offence and shut the doors of mercy and clemency by their obstinacy and by the insolent reply to the Ynca's demands, they resolved to abandon their houses and fly to the mountains. All fled who were able, but the aged and infirm remained. These remembered the generosity of Huayna-Ccapac, and that he never refused a petition made by a woman. So they sent to him a Chachapuya matron, a native of that town of Caxamarquilla, who had been one of the numerous concubines of the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. They said to her that, in their present danger, there was no other hope for them, their wives and children, and for the safety of all the villages in the province, but that she should go and beseech the Ynca to pardon them.

The matron, seeing that she and all her relations ran the same risk, set out with all diligence, accompanied by many other women of all ages, without any man whatever, and went to meet the Ynca. They found him at a distance of about two leagues from Caxamarquilla, and threw themselves at his feet, saying:—"O, sole Lord, whither goest thou? Do not advance in thine anger to destroy a province which thy father conquered and united to his empire! Do not let it be said that thou hast abandoned thy clemency and piety! Consider that to-morrow thou wilt regret having given way to thine anger, and wilt wish that thou hadst not done it! Dost thou not remember that thou hast the name of Huacchacuyac, which is lover of the poor, a title of which thou art proud? Why dost thou not have pity on these poor people, who are the most miserable of all human beings? If

they do not deserve mercy, think of thy father who conquered them that they might be thine. Think of thyself, who art the child of the Sun. It must not be that, in a moment of anger thou shouldst lose thy great past, present, and future renown, for the sake of inflicting a useless punishment, and shedding the blood of men who have now submitted. Reflect that how great soever may have been the crime of these wretched people, so much the more glorious will be thy clemency. Remember the mercy of all thy ancestors, and how much they were venerated for it, and that you may be the best of all. I implore thee to pardon these poor people, and if thou wilt not deign to concede my petition, at least, as I am a native of this province which has enraged thee, let me be the first to feel the sword of thy justice, that I may not behold the total destruction of my kindred."

Having spoken these words, the matron was silent. The other women who came with her then began to wail, repeating the names of the Ynca many times, and crying—"Sole Lord, Child of the Sun, Lover of the Poor, Huayna Ccapac, have mercy upon us, our fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons."

The Ynca was in suspense for a long time, considering the reasoning of the Mama-cuna, while the others added their tears and wailing to the prayer, thus quenching his anger with his more natural feelings of clemency and piety. At last he approached his step-mother, and, raising her from the ground, he said: "I well perceive that thou art *Mamanchic*, or common mother (he meant 'My mother and the mother of thy children'), seeing that from so far thou seest what is best for my honour and for the memory of the majesty of my father. I thank thee very much, for I do not doubt that tomorrow I should regret having indulged my anger. Thou hast also performed the office of a mother to thine own people, having so well redeemed their lives and villages.

Thou hast been a good mother to us all; do what thou desirest, and see if thou hast aught more to desire from me. Return in good time to thy people, and pardon them in my name. Do them what other favours seem good to thee, and to assure them that they are pardoned, take with thee four Yncas, my brothers and thy sons, without armed followers, to establish peace and good government." Having said this, the Ynca returned with all his army, and ordered the troops to march to the coast, according to his first intention.

The Chachapuyas were so convinced of their crime, and so touched by the clemency of the Ynca, that thenceforward they were very loyal vassals. In memory of that magnanimity, they surrounded the spot where the conversation took place between Huayna Ccapac and his step-mother with a wall that, as a sacred place where so grand an event had occurred, it might be guarded, so that neither men, beasts, nor even birds, if that were possible, might even put their feet on it. They built three walls round it. The first was finely cut masonry, with a cornice above. The second was of rough masonry, as a defence for the first wall. The third was of *adobes*, to guard the other two. There are still some remains of these walls to be seen. They might have endured for many years, but avarice could not permit it, and the searchers for treasure in this and similar places have thrown it all to the ground.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GODS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MANTA NATION: THEIR CONQUEST, AND OF OTHER VERY BARBAROUS TRIBES.

Huayna Ccapac set out for the sea-coast to prosecute the conquest which he had planned. He came to the frontier of

a province called Manta, where the harbour is which the Spaniards called Puerto Viejo. We explained the reason why they gave it that name at the commencement of this history.[1] The natives, for many leagues along the coast to the north, had the same customs and idolatry. They worshipped the sea and fishes, which they killed in such abundance for their food. They also worshipped tigers and lions, great serpents, and other reptiles, according to their fancies. Amongst other things, they worshipped, in the valley of Manta, the principal place in the district, a great emerald, which was said to have been as large as an ostrich's egg. They displayed it at their great festivals, putting it out in public, and the Indians came from great distances to worship and sacrifice to it, and to bring it presents of other smaller emeralds.[2] For the Priests and the Chief of Manta gave them to understand that this was the most agreeable offering the great emerald could receive, as it looked upon the smaller ones as its daughters. This covetous doctrine led to the collection of a great number of emeralds in that town, where they were found by Don Pedro de Alvarado and his companions, one of whom was my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega, when they came to the conquest of Peru. They broke the emeralds on an anvil;[3] for, not being good lapidaries, they said that if they were fine stones, they would not break with the hardest blows that could be given to them. The Indians concealed the one that was worshipped as a goddess as soon as the Spaniards entered that country. It was so effectually hidden that, in spite of the great diligence and numerous threats that have since been used, it has never appeared; as has been the case with a vast quantity of other treasure that has been lost in that land.

The natives of Manta and its district, particularly those on the coast (but not those inland, whom they call *Serranos*),

[1] See Vol. i, p. 37. [2] The great emerald was called Umiña.
[3] See Ulloa's *Travels*, i, p. 475. (Eng. trans.)

committed sodomy more openly and shamefully than any other nation that we have hitherto mentioned as being guilty of this vice. Their marriages took place under the condition that the relations and friends of the bridegroom should enjoy the bride before her husband. They flayed the captives taken in war, and filled the skins with cinders, so that they appeared to be what they were, and, as a token of victory, they placed them at the doors of their temples, and in the open spaces where they celebrated their festivals and dances.

The Ynca sent them the usual summons either to submit to his yoke, or to prepare for war. The people of Manta had seen long before that it would not be possible for them to resist the power of the Ynca; and, although they had attempted to form a defensive league with the neighbouring tribes, they had not been able to agree amongst themselves, because most of them were without law or government. They all, therefore, submitted, without difficulty, to Huayna Ccapac. The Ynca received them kindly, giving them presents, and appointing governors and ministers to teach them their idolatries, laws, and customs. He then advanced to another great province called Caranque. It was inhabited by many tribes, all of whom were in a state of anarchy, without law or government. He easily subdued them, for they neither desired nor were able to defend themselves, by reason of the great power of the Ynca. He treated them as he had done those of Manta, leaving ministers to instruct them, and continuing his conquests. He then arrived at other districts which were peopled by tribes more savage and bestial than any that had hitherto been encountered on the sea-coast. The men and women punctured their faces with sharp-pointed stones, and deformed the heads of their children at birth, by fastening a board in front and another behind, and tightening them every day until the children were four or five years old. The object was to make the head wide across, and narrow from the back part to the forehead.

Not satisfied with flattening the heads artificially, they shaved the hair off the crown and back, leaving it at the sides; and the remaining hairs were not combed and smoothed down, but curled and raised up, to increase the monstrosity of their appearance. They maintained themselves by fishing, being very expert fishermen, and on herbs, roots, and wild fruits. They went naked. They worshipped the same things as their neighbours, as gods. These nations were called Apichiqui, Pichunsi, Sava, Pecllansimiqui, Pampahuasi, and others.[1] Having added them to his empire, the Ynca marched onwards to another district called Saramissu, and thence to another called Passau, which is exactly upon the equator. The natives of Passau are the most barbarous people that were subdued by the Yncas. They had no gods, and did not know what it was to worship. They had neither village nor house. They lived in the hollow trees of the forests which densely cover their country. They had no special wives, and did not know their own children, and they openly committed sodomy. They knew not how to till the land, nor to make any useful thing. They went naked, and punctured holes round their lips. Their faces were divided into four divisions of different colours, yellow, blue, red, and black, varying the colours according to each man's taste. They never combed their hair, but wore it long and dishevelled, full of straw and dust, and of anything else that fell upon it. In fine, they are worse than beasts. I saw them with my own eyes when I went to Spain in the year 1560, for our ship stopped on that coast for three days, to take in wood and water. Many of these people came out in *balsas* of their reeds to trade with the ship's crew, selling large fish which they killed with their harpoons. For so rude and barbarous a people, they did this with great dexterity, so that the Spaniards, for the pleasure of seeing the sport,

[1] All these are clearly Ynca nicknames, and not the native names of the tribes.

bought the fish before they were killed. In exchange for the fish they asked for meat and biscuit, and did not want money. They wore a cloth made of the bark or leaves of trees for the sake of decency; but this was done more out of respect for the Spaniards than from any sense of shame. Truly these savages were the wildest people that it is possible to imagine.

Huayna Ccapac Ynca, when he had seen them, and had convinced himself of the worthless character of their land, so densely covered with sombre forest, as well as of the bestiality of the filthy and savage inhabitants, and that it would be waste of time to attempt the introduction of civilised ways, said, according to the account of his people: "Let us return, for these people do not deserve that we should be their lord." Having said this, he ordered his army to retire, leaving the natives of Passau in as brutal and savage a state as they were before.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE GIANTS THAT WERE IN THOSE COUNTRIES, AND OF THEIR DESTRUCTION.

Before we take leave of this region, it will be well to give an account of a wonderful history which the natives have received as a tradition from their ancestors who lived many ages since. They say that certain giants arrived at that land from the sea, and disembarked at the point they call Santa Elena. It was so named because the first Spaniards discovered it on that day. Pedro de Cieza de Leon is the Spanish historian who treats most at large of the Giants, being a man who had received the account from the people of the province, and it seems well to give here what he says,

copied word for word. Father José de Acosta, and the Accountant-General, Agustin de Zarate, tell the same story, but very briefly. Pedro de Cieza, entering more into detail, says as follows, in his fifty-second chapter:—

[*See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p.* 189.]

Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza, which we have extracted from his history, that the tradition of these Indians touching the giants may be known, as well as his account of the spring of pitch which is found in the same place, and which is also a thing worthy of note.

CHAPTER X.

WHAT HUAYNA CCAPAC SAID TOUCHING THE SUN.

The Ynca Huayna Ccapac, as we have already said, ordered his army to be withdrawn from the province called Passau, which was established as the boundary of the empire in that direction. Having taken leave of his troops, he returned towards Cuzco, visiting his provinces, conferring benefits, and administering justice to all who sought it. During this journey, in one of the years which it occupied, he arrived at Cuzco in time to celebrate the principal feast of the sun, called RAYMI. The Indians relate that, on one of the nine days during which the festival lasts, he looked upon the sun with more freedom than is usual, a thing prohibited, because it appeared disrespectful. He turned his eyes upon it, or as near as the sun would permit, and continued to gaze at it for some time. The High Priest, who was one of his uncles, and was standing by his side, exclaimed, "What do you do, O Ynca! do you not know that it is unlawful to act thus?"

The Ynca then lowered his eyes, but soon afterwards he again raised them with the same freedom, and turned them on the sun. The High Priest then remonstrated, saying: "Look, O sole Lord! What you do, besides that gazing freely at our father the Sun is prohibited to us as being disrespectful, is a bad example to all your court, and to the whole empire which is here assembled to show the veneration and worship they owe to your father, as sole and supreme Lord." Huayna Ccapac, turning to the priest, said: "I wish to ask you two questions, in answer to what you have said to me. I am your King and universal Lord. Is there any one of you who would be so bold as to order me to rise from my seat, and undertake a long journey?" The priest answered: "Who would be so audacious?" "Is there," resumed the Ynca, "any Curaca of my vassals, how rich and powerful soever he may be, who would not obey me if I should order him to go from here to Chile?" "No, Ynca," said the priest, "there is not any one who would not obey anything that you might order to be done, even to the death."

Then the Ynca said: "I tell you, then, that our father the Sun must have another Lord more powerful than himself, who orders him to make this journey, day by day, without resting. If he were supreme Lord he would occasionally go aside from his course, or rest for his pleasure, even though he might have no necessity whatever for doing so."

By reason of this speech, and other similar sayings, which the Spaniards heard the Indians recount of this Prince, they said that if he had attained to a hearing of the Christian doctrine, he would have readily received the Catholic faith, owing to his clear understanding and refined power of reasoning. A Spanish captain who, among many others, used to hear this saying of Huayna Ccapac, which was known all over Peru, adopted it as his own, and told it as his own to Father Acosta.[1] It may be that he also said it. His Paternity

[1] The Spanish captain told Acosta that he had, with good reasoning,

writes so in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of the History of the New World, and immediately afterwards he repeats the saying of Huyana Ccapac, which had also come to his notice, but without mentioning the Ynca's name. He tells the story in these words: "They report that one of the Kings Ingas, a man of a subtle spirit, seeing that all his ancestors had worshipped the Sun, said that he did not take the Sun to be God, neither could it be; because God was a great Lord, who performs His works with leisure and lordliness, while the Sun never rests from his course. A thing so unquiet could not be a god." He spoke truly; and if with quiet reasoning, which they could understand, the Indians were shown their folly and blindness, they would be convinced and would yield to the truth.

Thus far is from Father Acosta, and that is the way he concludes that chapter. The Indians, as great soothsayers and being timid in their idolatry, held the new saying of the King to be a thing of evil omen, as well as his freedom in gazing at the Sun. Huayna Ccapac took the saying from what he heard his father Tupac Ynca Yupanqui say, which is almost the same as has been mentioned in the account of his life.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REBELLION OF THE CARANQUES AND THEIR PUNISHMENT.

While the Ynca Huayna Ccapac was once more visiting his province, and this was the last time, he received news

explained to the Indians that the Sun was no God. He got a Cacique to send an Indian with a letter. Then he asked the Cacique whether he or the messenger was chief; and when the Cacique answered that he was, because the messenger did what he told him, the Spaniard explained that the Sun was the servant of the Most High, running swiftly by His command. Acosta, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. v, cap. 5.

that the province of Caranque, which we have mentioned as having been one that was conquered on the extreme limits of the kingdom of Quito, inhabited by a barbarous people who fed upon human flesh, and offered up sacrifices of the blood, heads, and hearts of those they killed, could not longer endure the yoke of the Ynca. The inhabitants particularly objected to the law prohibiting the eating of human flesh. They rebelled with other tribes who had the same customs and feared the empire of the Yncas, which was now at their door, and which would impose the same prohibitions upon them as on their neighbours. For this indulgence was the thing they most enjoyed in their bestial lives. With these motives they easily and very secretly assembled a great number of people to kill the governor and ministers of the Ynca, and the garrison that attended upon them. In the interval, before the time arrived for the perpetration of their treason, they showed as much simulated love and devotion as possible, to put the Yncas off their guard, and destroy them with more ease. When the appointed day arrived, they killed the officers of the Ynca with much cruelty, and offered their heads, hearts, and blood, to their gods, in recognition of their having freed them from the dominion of the Yncas, and restored their ancient customs. They ate the flesh of the murdered people with much pleasure and voracity, swallowing it without chewing, in revenge for having been deprived of this enjoyment for so long a time. They did this with all possible insolence; which caused Huayna Ccapac much sorrow and anger when he received the news. He ordered troops and officers to be assembled, to punish the crimes of these savages, and he followed the army that he might be present at what might happen. The captains came to the country of the Caranques, and, before they began the war, they sent messengers, in the name of the Ynca, offering pardon to those who might submit and ask for pardon. The rebels, like barbarians, not only would not

surrender, but sent very insolent answers back, so that nothing was left but to kill them. When Huayna Ccapac learned the new insolence of those brutes, he joined his army, to carry on the war in person. He ordered that it should be waged with blood and fire, and many thousands of men fell on either side. For the enemy, being in rebellion, fought obstinately, and the soldiers of the Ynca fought to avenge the insults to their king. As the power of the Ynca could not be resisted, the enemy soon became weak, and only attempted to defend the narrow passes and strong positions. At last the Ynca overcame all resistance, and the enemy surrendered. Many thousands of the rebels were captured. There were two thousand persons who were the most culpable, being the chief instigators of the rebellion. Some of them were Caranques, and others were people of the allied tribes which had not yet been conquered by the Ynca. A severe punishment was inflicted upon all of them. The Ynca ordered that they should all be drowned in a lake which is on the frontier between the land of the Caranques and that of the allied tribes. In order that the name of the lake might preserve the memory of the punishment and the crime, they called it *Yahuar-cocha*, which means "the lake of blood". For the lake was covered with blood, from the quantity that was shed in it. Pedro de Cieza, briefly alluding to this event in his thirty-seventh chapter, says that twenty thousand persons were put to death. He should have said that that was the number that fell, on both sides, in that war, which was long and obstinately fought.[1]

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 133; also Balboa, p. 149; Montesinos, p. 221; and Velasco, i, p. 18, for other accounts of this insurrection of the Caranques. Balboa describes the Caranque war as having continued through three bloody campaigns. In the first campaign the command-in-chief was given to Colla Topa (Tupac), a descendant from a natural son of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. He had a guard of two thousand *Orejones*, and a large body of Colla Indians, led by Mullo Cavana, the chief of Ylave, and Mullo Pucara of Hatun Colla.

Having inflicted this punishment, the Ynca went to Quitu, mourning very sorrowfully at such atrocious and inhuman crimes having been committed in his dominions, which should have required such severe and cruel chastisement, so contrary to his natural disposition, and to that of his ancestors, who all were inclined to clemency. He deplored the fate which made these insurrections fall out in his time to make him miserable, and not in former days; for nothing of the kind had ever happened before, except the revolt of the Chancas in the days of the Ynca Uira-ccocha. More carefully considered, this rebellion was an omen and warning of the approaching insurrection of greater importance which would lead to the fall of the empire, and the total destruction of the royal family, as we shall presently see.

CHAPTER XII.

HUAYNA CCAPAC MAKES HIS SON ATAHUALLPA, KING OF QUITU.

The Ynca Huayna Ccapac, as has already been mentioned, had a son named Atahuallpa by the daughter of the King of Quitu, who would have been heiress of the kingdom. He grew up with a good understanding, quick-witted, sagacious, cunning, and cautious; and in war brave and enterprising. In his person he was of a noble bearing and handsome countenance, as was generally the case with all the Yncas and Pallas. His father loved him dearly for those bodily advantages, and always kept him at his side. He would have liked to have made him heir to the whole empire, but

The Collas suffered severely, from having no arms but *bolas* (called *ayllos*). In the second campaign Apocario, chief of Chucuitu, was made general of the troops of the Collao. Balboa describes the final defeat of the Caranques in the third campaign, and the massacre of Yahuar-ccocha.

he could not deprive his eldest son and legitimate heir, Huascar Ynca, of his rights. But he resolved, in opposition to the laws and customs of all his ancestors, to take from him the kingdom of Quitu, with some colour and appearance of justice and restitution. With this object he summoned the Prince Huascar Ynca, who was then in Cuzco. On his arrival, a great assembly was convoked of the Ynca's sons, captains, and Curacas, and in their presence he thus addressed his legitimate son. "It is notorious, O Prince, that, in accordance with the ancient custom left us by our first Father the Ynca Manco Ccapac, this kingdom of Quitu belongs to your dominions. All the kingdoms and provinces that have been conquered, have hitherto been annexed to the jurisdiction and dominion of our imperial city of Cuzco. But as I love your brother Atahuallpa, and it would grieve me to see him poor, I request that you will see fit to leave him the inheritance of the kingdom of Quitu, which belonged to his maternal ancestors, out of all the conquests that I have added to your crown. Thus he will be able to live in royal state, as his virtues merit. As he is so good a brother, he will be better able to act as one when he has the means, than if he is poor. In recompense and satisfaction for this small thing that I seek from you, many other extensive kingdoms and provinces remain, and there are many left for you to conquer; in the subjugation of which your brother can serve you as captain; and I shall leave this world contented, when I go to rest with our father the Sun."

The Prince Huascar Ynca answered, very promptly, that he extremely rejoiced to obey the Ynca his father in this or in anything else that he might see fit to order: and that if, for his satisfaction, it was necessary to take more provinces to add to the portion of Atahuallpa, he would also agree, in order to please his father. Huayna Ccapac was well satisfied with this answer, and ordered Huascar to return to Cuzco, while he prepared to leave Atahuallpa in

possession of the kingdom of Quitu. He added other provinces to his portion, besides those of Quitu. He appointed experienced captains for his service, and part of the army. In short, he favoured him in all possible ways, even when it was to the prejudice of the Prince his heir. He behaved in all things as a fond father, giving up everything for love of his son. He desired Atahuallpa to assist him in ruling Quitu and its provinces, during the remainder of his life. He made this arrangement as much to favour his son Atahuallpa and establish his power, as for the sake of quieting and pacifying those maritime provinces which had lately been conquered, and, being inhabited by a warlike, though barbarous and bestial people, were not quiet under the empire of the Yncas. It became necessary to remove many of these people to other provinces, and to bring more quiet and peaceful tribes to take their places. This was the policy of those kings, to guard against rebellion, as we have explained more fully when we treated of the colonists called *Mitmac.*

CHAPTER XIII.

TWO FAMOUS ROADS THAT THERE WERE IN PERU.

It is right that, in the life of Huayna Ccapac, we should mention the two royal roads which extend throughout Peru, from north to south, because they are attributed to him. One of them passes along the coast, and the other traverses the mountains inland. Historians speak of these works in terms of admiration, but they were so grand as to exceed all descriptions that can be given of them. As I am unable to depict them so well as they have been painted by others, I will here repeat what each historian has said on the subject, copying the passages word for word.

Agustin de Zarate, in the thirteenth chapter of his first book, in speaking of the origin of the Yncas, writes as follows: "The throne of these Ingas came by succession to one of them, who was called Guaynacava[1] (which signifies a rich youth). He it was who gained the largest increase of territory, and who enforced more justice and right, introducing an amount of culture and civilisation that appears incredible. Thus a barbarous and unlettered people worked with such order and union, and were so loving and obedient, that in the service of the Inga they made those famous roads which should not be allowed to pass into oblivion. For none of those works which the ancients describe as the seven wonders of the world, were executed in the face of such difficulties and by means of such costly labour as were these roads.

"When this Guaynacava set out from the city of Cuzco, with his army, to conquer the province of Quito, a distance of near five hundred leagues, he encountered great difficulties in the mountains, by reason of the bad roads and deep ravines. It then seemed good to the Indians to make a new road by which he might return victorious from his conquest, after subjugating the province. They constructed a very wide and level road along the chain of mountains, breaking up the rock where it was necessary, and raising the roadway in the ravines so that, in some places, the work was fifteen or twenty *estados*[2] in height. This road extends for a distance of five hundred leagues.

"They say that, when it was finished, a cart might have been driven along it, although afterwards, owing to the wars of the Indians and Christians, the masonry in the ravines has been broken up in many parts, to prevent those who might come from passing them. An idea may be formed of the difficulty of the work by considering the labour and cost

[1] A corrupt form of Huayna Ccapac.

[2] The height of a man.

that have been expended, in Spain, in levelling two leagues of hilly country between El Espinar de Segovia and Guadarrama, and that it has never been satisfactorily completed, although it is the way by which the Kings of Castille constantly pass with the Court, every time that they go or come from Andalusia or the kingdom of Toledo to that part of their dominions. Not satisfied with having completed so admirable a work, when Guaynacava, on another occasion, returned to visit the province of Quito, of which he was very fond because he had himself conquered it, he travelled by the coast valleys. The Indians then made another road on the coast, where they encountered as much difficulty as in the mountains. Throughout the valleys, where there are trees and rivers, which are generally about a league in breadth, they made a road which was nearly forty feet wide, with very strong mud walls on either side and of considerable height. Beyond the valleys the road was continued across the deserts, where poles and stakes were fixed in a line, that travellers might not lose the way, nor turn aside. This road, like that in the mountains, was five hundred leagues in length. Although the poles are broken in many places, because the Spaniards, both in times of peace and war, used them for fire-wood, yet the walls in the valleys are still nearly intact, and by them a judgment may be formed of the grandeur of the whole work. Thus Guaynacava passed from one end of the coast region to the other, the part over which he travelled being always strewn with branches and sweet smelling flowers."

Thus far is from Agustin de Zarate. Pedro de Cieza de Leon, writing on the same subject, makes the following remarks respecting the road which passes over the mountains, in his thirty-seventh chapter.

[*See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p.* 170.]

Pedro de Cieza says no more touching the mountain road.

But further on, in his sixtieth chapter, he gives the following account of the coast road:

[*See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p.* 216.]

Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza, copied word for word.

Juan Botero Benes also mentions these roads, and includes them in his relations as marvellous works. Though he describes them in few words, he depicts them very well, saying:—

"From the city of Cuzco there are two roads or royal highways, two thousand miles long, the one passing along the coast plains, and the other over the tops of the mountains; so that it was necessary, in their construction, to raise the valleys, cut away the stones and living rocks, and lower the height of the mountains. They were twenty-five feet in width. This work is, beyond comparison, more wonderful than the edifices of the Egyptians and Romans."

All this is said by these three authors, touching the two famous roads, which deserve to be celebrated by all the praise which seems best to each of the historians. Yet all their praise comes short of the grandeur of the work. Its length of five hundred leagues, over a country where there are ascents and descents several leagues in extent, is sufficient to make all praise inadequate. Besides what these authors describe, the Indians made, on the highest parts of the road, where there was most soil, on one side or the other, large platforms with masonry steps to ascend to them, where those who carried the royal litter might rest themselves, and where the Ynca might enjoy the view in all directions from the summit of those snowy heights, which is certainly a most beautiful prospect. In some parts, according to the heights of the mountains over which the road passes, there is a view extending over fifty, sixty, eighty, and one hundred leagues of country, and the peaks appear to be so high as to reach the heavens, while, on the other hand, the valleys and

ravines are so deep as apparently to approach the centre of the earth. Nothing remains of this magnificent work, except what time and wars have been unable to destroy. Only in the road of the coast valleys, and in the vast sandy deserts, where there are also sand hills of various heights, the tall poles remain, which might be seen the one from the other, and which served as guides to prevent travellers from losing their way. For the line of the road might otherwise be lost through the movement of the sand blown by the wind, which would cover and conceal it. And it is not safe to trust to the sand-hills as guides, for they move from one place to another, if the wind is strong. Thus the beams, fixed by the road-side, are very necessary as guides to travellers, and for this reason they have been maintained, it not being possible to travel without them.[1]

CHAPTER XIV.

HUAYNA CCAPAC RECEIVES TIDINGS OF THE SPANIARDS BEING ON THE COAST.

Huayna Ccapac was occupied with these affairs, and was in the royal palaces of Tumipampa, which were the most superb in Peru, when news arrived that strange people, such as had never before been seen in that land, were sailing in a ship along the coast of the empire, seeking tidings as to what country it might be. This news awoke Huayna Ccapac to fresh anxieties to ascertain and know what people these might be, and whence they came. The ship was that of

[1] For other accounts of the Ynca roads, see Humboldt's *Aspects of Nature*, ii, p. 270; and Von Tschudi's *Travels in Peru*, p. 323. The best preserved fragments of the Ynca road are between Xauxa and Tarma. The road was twenty-five to thirty feet wide, and was paved with large flat stones.

Blasco Nuñez de Balboa, the first discoverer of the South Sea, and it was those Spaniards (as we stated at the beginning) who gave the name of Peru to the empire, in the year 1515. The discovery of the South Sea took place two years before. One historian says that the ship, and the Spaniards, were Don Francisco Pizarro and his thirteen companions, who, he says, were the first discoverers of Peru. But he is mistaken, and should have said the first invaders, instead of the first discoverers. He is also mistaken in the time, for sixteen years elapsed between the two events, if not more. The first discovery of Peru, and the imposition of that name, was in the year 1515; while Don Francisco Pizarro, and his four brothers, and Don Diego de Almagro invaded Peru in 1531. Huayna Ccapac died eight years before that time, or in 1523, having reigned forty-two years,[1] according to Father Blas Valera, in his torn and ruined papers, where he writes many things concerning the ancient history of those kings, into which he was a great inquirer.

Huayna Ccapac passed the eight years that he lived, after receiving these tidings, governing his empire peacefully and quietly. He had no desire to make new conquests, but to be in sight of what might come from over the sea. For he felt much anxiety on hearing the news of the ships; pondering over an ancient prophecy of the Indians that, after a certain number of kings had reigned, a strange people, such as had never been seen before, would arrive and deprive them of the kingdom, destroying their polity and their idolatry.[2] The prophecy was fulfilled in this Ynca. It must also be known that, three years before that ship came to the coast of Peru, a portentous and evil omen fell out in Cuzco, which astonished Huayna Ccapac, and terrified the whole kingdom. While the solemn Festival of the Sun was being celebrated, they saw a royal eagle, which they call *anca*, flying through

[1] According to Balboa he reigned thirty-three years.

[2] See page 89.

the air, and pursued by five or six kestrels, and as many small hawks of the kind that is so beautiful that many have been brought to Spain. In Peru they are called *huaman*, and in Spain, *aleto*. They attacked the eagle alternately, and killed him by their blows. The eagle, unable to defend himself, fell into the middle of the great square of that city among the Yncas, that they might help him. They took him up, and saw that he was sick, covered with scurf as if he had the itch, and almost bald of his lesser feathers. They fed him and treated him kindly, but nothing availed, and in a few days he died, without having been able to raise himself from the ground. The Ynca and his people considered this to be a bad omen, and the soothsayers said many things touching its interpretation, according to their rules, but all were menacing, and foretold the loss of the empire, and the destruction of their polity and idolatry. Besides this there were great earthquakes, for though Peru often suffers from this plague, the earthquakes were worse than usual, and many high hills fell down. The Indians of the coast reported that the sea, in its ebbing and flowing, often extended beyond its usual bounds; and they saw many awful and terrific comets in the air. In the midst of these forebodings, they beheld that, on a very clear night, the moon had three great circles round it. The first was of the colour of blood. The second, which was further outside, was of a black colour turning to green. The third looked like smoke. A diviner or magician, whom the Indians call *llayca*, having seen and gazed upon the circles round the moon, went into the presence of Huayna Ccapac and, with a very sorrowful visage, being hardly able to speak, he said: "Sole Lord, know that thy mother the Moon, as a pious mother, announces to thee that Pachacamac, the creator and sustainer of the world, menaces thy royal family and thy empire with great plagues which are about to befall; for that first circle, round thy mother, of the colour of blood,

means that, after thou hast gone to rest with thy father the Sun, there will be a cruel war between thy descendants, and much shedding of royal blood; so that in a few years it will all be gone. The second black circle menaces us with the destruction of our religion and policy through the wars and deaths of thy relations; and all will be turned into smoke, as is signified by the third circle, which looks like smoke.

The Ynca was much moved, but, that he might not display any weakness, he said to the soothsayer, "Go! you must have dreamt these follies at night, and then you declare them to be revelations of my mother." The magician answered, "O, Ynca! you will believe me, if you go forth and behold the signs given by your mother, with your own eyes. Order the other diviners to attend you, and you will then know what these signs portend." The Ynca came out of his palace, and, having beheld the signs, he summoned all the magicians of his Court. One of them, who belonged to the nation of Yauyu, to whom the others looked as their chief, had also gazed upon and considered the signs, and he said the same as the first diviner. Huayna Ccapac, that his people might not be disheartened by such prognostications, although they agreed with what he felt in his breast, made a show of giving them no credence, and said to the diviners:—"If Pachacamac himself does not say this, I shall not think of believing in your assertion; for it is not to be credited that the Sun, my father, would so hate his own blood as to permit the destruction of his sons." He then dismissed the soothsayers. But, when he considered what had been said, and that it agreed with the ancient prophecy of his ancestors; when he combined this, in his mind, with the prodigies and strange appearances that were displayed every day in the four elements; and when, above all, he reflected on the appearance of a ship containing people never seen or heard of before, Huayna Ccapac lived in a state of grief and dismal foreboding. He was always attended by a

good army of chosen men, selected from among the most experienced and veteran soldiers of the different garrisons in the provinces. He ordered many sacrifices to be offered up to the Sun, and that the soothsayers and wizards of each province should consult their familiar demons, especially the great Pachacamac and the devil Rimac. He desired that they should reply to the inquiries, as to what they knew of good or evil that these strange things prognosticated, which appeared in the sea and the other elements. From Rimac, and from other parts, confused and obscure answers were received, which neither promised good, nor menaced much evil. But most of the wizards gave out evil prophecies, so that all the empire feared some great calamity. When, after three or four years, none of their fears were realised, they regained their former confidence, and so lived for some years, until the death of Huayna Ccapac.

The account of the prognostications which I have given, besides the common reports throughout the empire, is based particularly on what was related by two captains of the guard of Huayna Ccapac, each of whom attained an age of eighty years, and both were baptised. The eldest was called Don Juan Pechuta, using as a surname the name by which he was known before baptism, as was the general custom of the Indians. The other was called Chauca Rimachi, but his Christian name has passed from my memory into oblivion. These captains, when they gave an account of the prognostications and of the events of those times, burst into floods of tears, so that it was necessary to change the conversation to make them cease weeping. The will and death of Huayna Ccapac, and all that happened afterwards, shall be related from the account given by that old Ynca, whose name was Cusi Hualpa. Much of it, and especially the cruelties of Atahuallpa to those of the blood royal, I will give from the statements of my own mother, and of one of her brothers named Don Fernando Huallpa Tupac Ynca

Yupanqui, who were then children of less than ten years old; and were present during the horrors of the two years and a half which preceded the arrival of the Spaniards. In its place I shall relate how a few of the royal family escaped death at the hands of Atahuallpa, by the help of the enemies themselves.

CHAPTER XV.

WILL AND DEATH OF HUAYNA CCAPAC, AND THE PROGNOSTICATIONS TOUCHING THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS.

On one of the last days of his life, Huayna Ccapac, being in the kingdom of Quitu, entered a lake to bathe, for his pleasure and diversion. He came out with a trembling chill on him, which the Indians call *chucchu*, and a fever, called by the Indians *rupa* (the *r* soft), supervened. This word means "to burn". The next day he was worse, and he soon began to feel that his disease would be fatal. For, years before, he had received notice of it, obtained from auguries and omens of which the gentiles had many interpretations. These prognostications, especially when they related to the royal person, were said by the Yncas to be revelations from their father the Sun; and this was asserted to give authority and credence to their idolatry.

Besides the prognostications obtained by the soothsayers, and spoken of by the demons, there appeared awful comets in the air, and among them a very large and fearful one, of a green colour; and the thunderbolt which we mentioned as having fallen in the house of this same Ynca,[1] and other portentous signs which greatly horrified the Amautas, who were the wise men of that republic, as well as the sooth-

[1] See vol. i, p. 104.

sayers, and priests of their idolatry. Being very familiar with the devil, they not only prophecied the death of their Ynca Huayna Ccapac, but also the destruction of the royal family, and the loss of the kingdom, and other great calamities and misfortunes which they declared must be suffered by all in general, and each man in particular. These things were not published abroad for fear of causing such terror in the land that the people would die from fright, they being so timid and ready to believe in novelties and evil omens.

Huayna Ccapac, feeling ill, summoned his children and relations who were at hand, and the governors and captains of the neighbouring provinces, who were able to arrive in time, and thus addressed them :—

"I go to rest in Heaven with our father the Sun, who long ago revealed to me that I should be summoned either from a river or a lake. And so it was that I came out of the lake with the sickness that I now have, which is a sure sign that our father has called me. When I am dead you will open my body, according to the custom with royal bodies. I desire that my heart and entrails, with the rest of the inside, may be buried in Quitu, in token of the love I bear for that place. My body must be conveyed to Cuzco, to be placed with those of my ancestors. I commend to you my son Atahuallpa, whom I so dearly love, and who will remain as Ynca in my place, in this kingdom of Quitu, and in all others that he may conquer by his arms, and add to his empire. I especially desire the captains of my army to serve him with fidelity and love, as is due to their king, for as such I leave him; and they are to obey him in all things, and do as he commands them. This is what I reveal by order of our father the Sun. I also have to charge you to practise justice and clemency towards the vassals, that the name that they have given us, of 'Lovers of the Poor,' may not be lost, and in all things I charge you to act as Yncas and children of the Sun." Having made this speech to his

children and relations, he sent for the other Curacas and captains who were not of the blood royal, and reminded them of the fidelity and good service they owed to their king. Finally he said, "Many years ago it was revealed by our father the Sun that, after twelve of his kingly children had reigned, a strange people would arrive, such as had never before been seen in these parts, and would conquer and subjugate our kingdoms and many others. I suspect that those are some of them who have already appeared in the seas of our coast. It will be a valorous race, in all things having the advantage over us. We also know that in me is completed the number of twelve Yncas. I foretell to you that a few years after I have departed, that strange race will come, and will fulfil what our father the Sun has said, will conquer our empire, and will be lords of it. I order you to obey and serve them, as men who have the advantage of you in all things, whose laws will be better than ours, and whose arms will be more powerful and invincible. Peace be with you; I go to rest with my father the Sun, who has called me."

Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in his forty-fourth chapter, treats of this prophecy of Huayna Ccapac, touching the Spaniards, that after his time a strange people would rule in the kingdom, like those who had appeared in the ship. That author says that the Ynca said these things to his children in Tumipampa, which is near Quitu, where he says that the Ynca received news of the first Spaniards, discoverers of Peru.[1]

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his one hundred and fifteenth chapter, relating the discourse that Huascar Ynca had with Hernando de Soto (who was afterwards Governor of Florida) and Pedro del Barco, when those two went together from Cassamarca to Cuzco, among other words of Huascar, who was then a prisoner, mentions the following,

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 169.

copied word for word :—" Finally, he said, that as he was legitimate Lord of all these kingdoms, and Atabalipa was a usurper; he, therefore, desired to inform and see the Captain of the Christians, that he might remove his wrongs, and restore to him his liberty and his kingdoms. For his father, Guayna Capac, had ordered, at the time of his death, that his successor should be the friend of the white and bearded race that would come, because they would be lords of the land." This shows that the prophecy of that king was well known throughout all Peru, and so these historians repeat it.

All that has been repeated above was left by Huayna Ccapac instead of a will, and so the Indians regarded it, reverently complying with every word in its most literal sense.[1] I remember one day, when that old Ynca was talking in presence of my mother, he gave an account of these events, and of the arrival of the Spaniards. I said to him, "O Ynca! seeing that this land of yours is so rugged and difficult, and that your people were so numerous, and so warlike and powerful in conquering many countries and kingdoms, how was it that you lost the empire so quickly, and submitted to so few Spaniards?" In his reply to me, he repeated the prophecy touching the Spaniards, which he had first mentioned some days before, and said that the Ynca had ordered his people to obey and serve them, because they had the advantage in all things. Having said this, he turned to me somewhat angrily, as if I had accused his people of cowardice and weakness, and answered my question, saying, "These words which our Ynca uttered were the last that he spoke to us, and were more powerful to subjugate us and deprive us of our empire, than the arms which your father and his companions brought into this

[1] Balboa says that the Ynca named several chiefs as executors of his will; namely, Colla Topa (Tupac), Catunqui, Taurimachi, Auqui Topa Yupanqui, and three or four others.

land." That Ynca spoke thus, to show how greatly the orders of their kings were respected, and how much more those which the Huayna Ccapac gave at the end of his life, he being the best beloved of all their kings.

Huayna Ccapac died of that illness;[1] and his people, in compliance with the orders he had left, opened his body, embalmed it, and conveyed it to Cuzco, while the heart was buried at Quitu. On the roads where the body was carried, the obsequies were celebrated with very great mourning, by reason of the love the people felt for this Ynca.[2] When the body arrived at the imperial city, the obsequies were celebrated, and, according to the custom of those kings, they lasted for a year. Huayna Ccapac left more than two hundred sons and daughters; and more than three hundred, according to the statements of some of the Yncas, to exaggerate the cruelty of Atahuallpa, who killed nearly all.

I propose here to enumerate the things they had not in Peru, but which have since been introduced. This will be the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE MARES AND HORSES, HOW THEY BRED THEM AT FIRST, AND OF THEIR GREAT VALUE.

As it may be interesting to the present generation, as well as to posterity, to know what things did not exist in

[1] Velasco contends for December 1525 as the date of the death of Huayna Ccapac.

[2] When the funeral procession of Huayna Ccapac, accompanied by his widow, Mama Rava Ocllo, reached the Apurimac, Huascar sent an order to arrest the chiefs who had been named as his father's executors. They were put to death at Limatambo, for having let Atahuallpa go free, and not having seized him at Tumipampa, and brought him with them. Huascar also upbraided his mother for the same neglect.—*Balboa*,

Peru before the Spanish conquest, it seems well that I should set apart a chapter to treat of the subject, that it may be seen how many things which seem to us to be necessaries of life, these people went without, and yet were well satisfied. In the first place, it must be known that they had neither horses nor mares for their wars and festivals, nor cows and bullocks to plough the land; nor camels, asses, nor mules for their carts; nor Spanish sheep, whether coarse or merino, for food and wool; nor goats nor pigs for preserved meat and leather; nor even thorough bred dogs for the chase, such as greyhounds, lurchers, setters, pointers, spaniels, hounds for the leash, mastiffs to watch their flocks, and little curs, called also lap dogs. But of the dogs called *gozques*[1] in Spain, they had many, large and small.

They were also without wheat, barley, the vine, the olive, and the fruits and vegetables of Spain. We propose to relate how each of these things was introduced into that distant country; and, first, as regards mares and horses. The Spaniards brought horses with them when they made the conquest of the new world; for the Indians are more agile than the Spaniards in flying and pursuing, climbing and descending, and running over the rugged mountains, having been born and brought up in them. The breed of the horses and mares throughout the Indies discovered and conquered by the Spaniards since the year 1492, is the same as that of Spain, and particularly of Andalusia. The first were brought to the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and thence to all the windward islands, as they were conquered and occupied. They bred there in great abundance, and thence they were taken to the conquests of Peru and Mexico. At first, partly through the carelessness of their owners, and partly through the incredible ruggedness of the mountains in those islands, some of the mares

[1] Curs.

got loose and were lost. In this way, little by little, they lost many, and their masters, seeing that they bred well in the mountains, and that there were no wild animals to hurt them, let the others, that were still in hand, follow those that were loose. Thus they became wild, and the horses of those islands fly from men as if they were deer. But, owing to the fertility of that warm and humid country, where there is always plenty of pasture, they multiplied greatly.

When the Spaniards who lived in those islands, saw that horses would be wanted for the conquests that were being pushed forward, and that they were very good in the islands, they began to rear them in herds, because this was a paying business. There were men who had thirty, to forty and fifty horses in their stables, as we have mentioned in our history of Florida, in speaking of them. They made enclosures with wooden palings in the mountains, in which to catch the colts. They were placed in the lanes by which the colts went and came to seek pasture in the level spaces on the mountains, which are found on those islands, two or three leagues long and broad, and are called *savannas*. Here the horses come at certain times to disport themselves. The watchers, who are up in the trees, make a signal, and fifteen or twenty men on horseback come out and hunt the wild horses, driving them towards the yard. They enclose the mares and colts in it, and presently lasso the three year olds, and fasten them to trees, letting the mares go free. The colts remain tied up for three or four days, kicking and rearing until they are tired, and nearly famished. Some of them strangle themselves. When they are in this state they are saddled and bridled; they are then mounted by lads, while others guide them with a halter. In this way they are exercised morning and afternoon, until they are broken in. The colts, being animals created to serve and live with men, submit with much nobility and loyalty to what men wish to do with them. In a few days after they

are broken they play at canes on them, and they become very good horses. Afterwards, when the demand from those engaged in the conquests ceased, they were not bred in such numbers, and the raising of cattle was substituted, for the sake of their hides. Considering the high price of horses in Spain, and the excellence of those bred in the islands, as regards form, size, and colours, I often wonder that they are not imported, if only in acknowledgment of the benefit conferred by Spain in first having sent horses to the Indies. The horses of Peru are broken earlier than in Spain, and the first time I played at canes in Cuzco, it was on a horse so young that it had not completed three years.

When the conquest of Peru was beginning, horses were not for sale, and if by chance a horse was sold because of the death of the owner, or because he was returning to Spain, the price was excessive, amounting to from four to five and six thousand *pesos*. In the year 1550, when the Marshal Don Alonzo de Alvarado was pursuing Francisco Hernandez Giron, before the battle of Chuquinca, a negro slyly caught a horse, with a well ornamented head stall, for his master to mount. A rich knight, who was a judge of horses, said to the master with whom he was travelling, "I will give you ten thousand *pesos*, or twelve thousand *ducats*, for horse and slave as they stand." The master refused the offer, saying that he wanted the horse to ride in the battle, where it was killed, and its master was severely wounded. It is worthy of remark that he who offered to buy the horse was rich, having a good *repartimiento* of Indians in Charcas, while the master of it was poor and had no Indians; but he was a famous soldier, and as such he desired to appear in the battle, refusing to sell his horse though he was offered such an excessive price. I knew them both, and they were noble and well born men. Afterwards the prices in Peru lowered, because the horses had multiplied immensely. A good horse is now worth three hundred to four hundred *pesos*, while a

screw fetches twenty to thirty *pesos*. Generally the Indians are very much frightened at the horses. When they see a horse galloping they are so terrified that, though the street be broad, they are not satisfied with standing against one of the walls and letting the horse pass, but they fancy that wherever they may be they will be trampled down. They run across the street two or three times when they see a horse coming, flying from it, and as soon as they reach one wall they think they will be safer against the other, and run across again. They are so blinded and lost with terror that it sometimes happens, as I have myself witnessed, that they run to meet the horse, instead of flying from it. They think it is impossible to be safe unless some Spaniard is in front of them, and even then they are not satisfied of there being no danger. Certainly this cannot be exaggerated, as it existed in my time; but now the Indians are getting used to the horses and are less afraid. But no Indian has yet dared to shoe the horses, and, though they are very expert at all other trades that they have learnt from the Spaniards, they have not been taught to shoe, as they dare not go so near the horses. There were many Indians, servants of Spaniards, who saddled and groomed their horses, but they did not mount them. I say truly that I never saw an Indian on horseback, and an Indian would not even lead a horse by the bridle unless it was as gentle as a mule. This was because the horses might prance, from not having blinkers, which were not used in those days, none having yet arrived, nor the head stalls for breaking them in. All this gear was made at the cost and pains of the breaker or the owners. It may, however, be said that the horses in that country are so noble that they can easily be broken, with good management, without any violence, and they will then submit to any one. Besides what has been said, I may add that, in the early days of the conquests it was believed by the Indians throughout the new world that man and horse were all one,

like the centaurs of the poets. They tell me that now there are some Indians who venture to shoe horses; but very few. We will now go on to mention the other things that did not exist in my country.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE COWS AND BULLOCKS, AND OF THEIR PRICES.

Many cows were introduced soon after the conquest, and spread over the whole country. The same must have been the case with pigs and sheep; for I remember having seen them at Cuzco, when I was quite a child.

Cows were not for sale at first, when they were scarce. The Spaniards who brought them, to breed and secure the profits, had no wish to sell. The first person who had cows in Cuzco was Antonio de Altamirano,[1] a native of Estremadura, father of Pedro and Francisco Altamirano, half-castes, and my schoolfellows. These two lads died young, to the great grief of the whole city, by reason of the promise they gave of ability and virtue.

The first bullocks I saw at the plough were in the valley of Cuzco in the year 1550, one year more or less, and they belonged to a knight named Juan Rodriguez de Villalobos, a native of Caceres. There were only three. One was named *Chaparro*, the second *Naranjo*, and the third *Castillo*. A whole army of Indians took me to see them, who came from all parts, astonished at a sight so wonderful and novel for them and for me. They said that the Spaniards were too idle to work, and that they forced those great animals to do their work for them. I remember all this very well, because my holiday with the bullocks cost me a flogging

[1] See vol. i, p. 104.

consisting of two dozen stripes: one dozen administered by my father, because I was not at school; and the other dozen by the schoolmaster, because I had only had one dozen. The land the bullocks ploughed was a very beautiful terrace, above the one on which the convent of St. Francis is now built. That house, I mean the part which forms the body of the church, was built at the cost of the same Juan Rodriguez Villalobos, from veneration for Saint Lazarus, to whom he was deeply devoted. The Franciscan Friars bought the church and the two terraces, some years afterwards. At the time I speak of, when the bullocks ploughed, there were no houses, neither of Spaniards nor Indians. We have already spoken of the purchase of that site. The herdsmen who ploughed were Indians, and the bullocks were trained in a yard outside the city. As soon as they understood the work they were brought to Cuzco; and I believe that the grandest triumph of ancient Rome was not more admired than the bullocks on that day. When they began to sell cows, the prices were from two hundred *pesos*, lowering gradually as the beasts became more plentiful, until the price fell suddenly to what they now sell at. In the beginning of the year 1554 a knight whom I knew, named Rodrigo de Esquivel, a citizen of Cuzco and native of Seville, bought ten cows in the City of the Kings for a thousand *pesos*, equal to twelve hundred *ducats*. In 1559 I saw cows bought at Cuzco for seventeen *pesos* or twenty and a half *ducats*, rather less than more. The same thing happened with regard to goats, sheep, and pigs, as we shall presently state in proof of the fertility of that country. Since 1559 they write to me from Peru that cows in Cuzco are worth six to seven *ducats* when bought singly or in couples, and even less when bought in herds.

The cows, like the mares, became wild in the windward islands, though some are kept in herds, for the sake of the milk, cheese, and butter; but the greater number are wild

in the mountains. They have multiplied to an incredible extent, if the hides that are annually brought to Spain did not bear witness to it. According to what Father Acosta says in the thirty-third chapter of his fourth book, they brought from St. Domingo, in the fleet of 1587, as many as 35,444 hides, and in the same year they brought from New Spain 64,350 hides, altogether 99,794. In St. Domingo and in Cuba, as well as in the other islands, they would have increased much more, if they had not been thinned by the bloodhounds and mastiffs that the Spaniards introduced at first, and which have multiplied so that men cannot travel, unless they go in companies of ten or twelve. There is a reward for killing them, as if they were wolves. When the Spaniards want to kill the cows they watch for them to go out on the *savannas* to browse, and then charge them on horseback with lances, which, in place of an iron point, have half moons called *desjaretaderas*,[1] with the edge inside. When they overtake a beast, they cut the sinews of the hind leg, and hough it. The horseman has to go with care; for if the beast in front goes to the right hand it should be wounded in the right leg, and if it goes to the left hand, it should be wounded in the left leg, because the beast turns its head to the side that is wounded. If the horseman is not careful, his own horse will be nailed to the horns of the cow or bull; for there is no time to escape. There are men who are so expert at this work that, on a course two arquebus shots in length, they can throw over twenty to forty beasts. From the flesh that is wasted in those islands they could supply meat for all the navies of Spain. But I fear that, owing to the heat and moisture of the climate, the meat could not be cured.[2] They tell me that, in these days,

[1] An instrument for houghing.

[2] The Buccaneers afterwards cured the flesh of the cattle in a manner learnt from the Caribs. The meat was laid to be dried upon a wooden grate (*grille de bois*), which the Indians called *barbecu*, placed

some cattle wander, without owners, over the uninhabited wilds of Peru, and that the bulls are so fierce that they attack men travelling on the roads. A little more, and there will be wild cattle, as in the islands, which now seem to recognise the good turn that Spain did for them by sending them there, and in exchange send back annual supplies of hides in great abundance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE CAMELS, ASSES, AND GOATS, OF THEIR PRICES AND INCREASE.

There were no camels in Peru, but now there are some, though only a few. The first who brought them (and I believe that they did not import them afterwards) was Juan de Reinaga, a man of noble birth and a native of Bilbao, whom I knew when he was a captain of infantry against Francisco Hernandez Giron; and he served his majesty well in that campaign. For one male and six females that he brought, Don Pedro Portocarrero, a native of Truxillo, gave him seven thousand *pesos*, equal to eight thousand four hundred *ducats*. The camels have multiplied little or not at all.

The first donkey I ever saw was in Cuzco, in the year 1557. It was bought in the city of Huamanca, and cost four hundred and eighty *ducats* of three hundred and sixty-five *maravedis* each. My Lord Garcilasso de la Vega ordered it to be bought, to breed mules from his mares. In Spain

at a good distance over a slow fire. The meat when cured was called *boucan*. The flesh was dried in the smoke, without being salted. The hunters came to be called Boucaniers, and by the English Buccaneers.—See Burney's *South Sea Voyages*, iv, p. 43.

it would not have been worth six *ducats;* for it was small and in bad condition. Afterwards Gaspar de Sotelo bought another. He was a man of good birth, a native of Zamora, whom I knew. He paid eight hundred and forty *ducats* for it. Mules have since been bred in large quantities, and they are very useful, owing to the roughness of the roads.

I know not how much the goats were worth at the beginning, when they were first introduced. Afterwards I saw them sold at a hundred to a hundred and ten *ducats.* Few were sold, and those only out of friendship and as a favour. I speak of Cuzco in the year 1544 and 1545. They have since multiplied so that they are worth very little, except for the skin. A she goat usually bore three or four kids; and a cavalier assured me that, at Huanucu, where he resided, he had seen them bear as many as five.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE PIGS, AND THEIR RAPID INCREASE.

At first the price of sows was much higher than that of goats, though I do not certainly know how high it was. The chronicler, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, a native of Seville, in the classification he makes of the provinces of Peru, in his twenty-sixth chapter, says that the Marshal, Don Jorge Robledo, bought, among the goods of Cristoval de Ayala, who was slain by the Indians, a sow and a boar for one thousand six hundred *pesos,* equal to one thousand nine hundred and twenty *ducats.*[1] He adds that, a few days afterwards, the same pig was eaten at a banquet in the city of Cali; and that the sucking pigs were bought out of the belly of the mother at a hundred *pesos* or a hundred and twenty *ducats* a

[1] See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 94.

piece. He who wishes to hear of excessive prices for things that were sold among the Spaniards, should read that chapter, and see how cheaply gold and silver were then held, in comparison with things from Spain. These extreme prices were paid by the Spaniards from a love of their country; for, being commodities from Spain, they cared not for the price, so long as they could buy and rear the animals, it seeming impossible to live without them.

In 1560 a good pig was worth ten *pesos* in Cuzco, and now they are worth six or seven, and the price would be lower, if it were not for the value of the grease, which is prized for the cure it effected of the disease among the llamas, and also because the Spaniards, having no oil, used it in their dishes on Fridays and during Lent. The sows have been very prolific in Peru. In 1558 I saw two in the smaller square at Cuzco, with a litter of sixteen sucking pigs, which were little more than thirty days old when I saw them. They were so fat that people were astonished at the sow being able to rear so many together and keep them in such good condition. The Indians call the pigs *cuchi*, and they have introduced this word into their language, because they have heard the Spaniards say *coche coche* when they called them.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE SHEEP AND CATS.

We call the sheep "of Castille", to distinguish them from those of Peru. The Spaniards, with much impropriety, persisted in calling the llamas of Peru by the name of sheep, although they bear no resemblance whatever to sheep. I do not know when the first sheep arrived, nor who brought

them. The first I ever saw were at Cuzco in 1556, selling at forty *pesos* a head, and the selected ones at fifty *pesos*, which is equal to sixty *ducats*. They were also obtained through favour, like the goats. In 1560, when I left Cuzco, mutton of Castille was not even then sold in the butchers' shops. But in letters I received from Cuzco in 1590 I learn that, in that great city, a sheep was then worth eight *reales* and ten at most. The sheep, in the space of eight years, went down in price to four *ducats* and less. At present they are so common that they are worth very little. They generally have two lambs at a time, and sometimes three. The wool is also so plentiful that it is worth scarcely anything, being sold at three or four *reals* the *arroba*. I know not whether coarse-woolled sheep have yet been introduced. There are no wolves; for, being of no use nor value, they have not been taken out to Peru.

They had no cats before the arrival of the Spaniards. Now they have them, and the Indians call them *misitu*, because they heard the Spaniards say *miz miz*, when they called them. Now the word *misitu* for a cat is introduced into the language of the Indians. I say this because the Spaniards would not understand the word, and seeing that Indians had another name for a cat, they might think the Indians had them before the conquest. They made the same mistake about domestic fowls, thinking that, because the Indians call them *Atahuallpa*, they had them before the conquest, as one of the Spanish historians argues. He contends that the Indians had their names for everything that was in their country before the Spaniards came, and that as they called the domestic fowl *gualpa*, they always had them before the Spaniards arrived in Peru. The argument will only convince those who do not know the derivation of the word, which should not be *gualpa* but *Atahuallpa*. This is a pleasant story, which we shall relate when we treat of the domestic birds that were not in Peru before the Spaniards came.

CHAPTER XXI.

RABBITS AND THOROUGH-BRED DOGS.

They had neither field rabbits nor those which in Spain are called rabbits of the chase, but they have been introduced since I left the country. The first person who brought them to Cuzco was a clergyman named Andres Lopez, a native of Estremadura, but I do not know from which city or town he came. This priest brought two rabbits, male and female, in a cage. After crossing a stream, which is sixteen leagues from Cuzco, near an estate called Chinchapucyu, belonging to my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega, the Indian who was carrying the cage, put it down to rest and take a mouthful of food. When he turned to take it up and continue his journey, he found that one of the rabbits had got out through a hole in the cage, where one of the bars was broken. It ran into a thicket of willows and alders which fringes the banks of the stream. It was the female, and, being pregnant, the young ones were born in the thicket. The Indians were careful not to kill the rabbits, when they first saw them, so that they have multiplied largely. They have been taken to other parts, and have propagated rapidly, as has been the case with everything else that has been brought from Spain.

That rabbit found itself in a land with a temperate climate, neither hot nor cold. If it had gone up the stream the country would have got colder and colder, until it reached eternal snow; and if it had descended the same stream it would have found the climate hotter and hotter, until it reached the river called Apurimac, where the climate is the hottest in Peru. An Indian of my country told me this story about the rabbits, knowing that I was writing on the subject. I refer its truth to the stream, which can say if it is so or

not. In the kingdom of Quitu there are rabbits almost the same as those of Spain, except that they are smaller and of a darker colour, so that all the side of the hill is black with them. In everything else they are like those of Spain. There were no hares, and they have not hitherto been introduced.

There were no thorough-bred dogs in Peru, but the Spaniards have brought some over. The mastiffs were the last to be introduced; for, as there are no wolves nor other injurious vermin, those dogs were not wanted. But, when they came, they were much valued by the owners of flocks, not from any necessity for them, but that their folds might resemble those of Spain in all things. They were so anxious in the matter that a Spaniard brought a mastiff puppy, scarcely six weeks old, from Cuzco to the City of the Kings, a distance of a hundred and twenty leagues. He carried it in his saddle-bag, and at every stage he had trouble in finding milk to feed it. I saw all this myself, because that Spaniard and I travelled together. He said that he took it as a valuable present to his father-in-law, who was the owner of flocks, and lived fifty-six or sixty leagues on this side of the City of the Kings. The things of Spain cost the Spaniards all this trouble and more, at first; but afterwards they became so common as to be of little value.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE RATS, AND THE MULTITUDE OF THEM.

It remains to speak of the rats, which also came to Peru with the Spaniards, there having been none before their time. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his general history of the Indies, among other things (written either from the

want or the superfluity of statements made to him) says that there were no rats in Peru until the time of Blasco Nuñez Vela. If he had said that there were none of the very large Spanish rats, he would have been right. Now, there are many in the coast region, and so large that no cat will look at them, much more attack them. They have not got up into the towns of the Sierra, and there is no fear of their doing so, owing to the intense cold that intervenes, and they know not how to protect themselves from it.

There are many of the small kind of rats, called *ucucha*. In Nombre de Dios, Panama, and the cities on the Peruvian coast, they use poison to kill off the multitude of rats. The people agree, at a certain season of the year, that the rats in each house shall be poisoned. They then put careful watch on all the things that the rats like to eat and drink, and on an appointed night they poison all the fruits and other things of which the rats are fond. Next morning an innumerable quantity of dead rats is found.

When I arrived at Panama, on my way to Spain, it must have been shortly after the poisoning had taken place, for on going out for a walk on the sea shore one afternoon, I found an immense quantity of dead rats, covering a space one hundred paces long by three or four wide, so that I could not take a step without treading on them. The pain of the poison makes them seek for water, and that of the sea hastens their deaths.

I remember having heard a strange story touching the multitude of rats which are found in ships, especially if they are old. My authority for the story is a gentleman of good birth, named Hernan Bravo de Laguna, who owned Indians in Cuzco, and who said, in my hearing, that he saw it. A ship, on a voyage from Panama to the City of the Kings, put into the port of Truxillo. The crew went on shore to amuse themselves for a day or two that the ship remained there. Not a single man remained on board, ex-

cept one who was sick, and who did not care to make the journey of two leagues between the fort and the city. He felt safe, alike from the tempests of the sea, it being calm on that coast, and from corsairs, for Francisco Drac had not yet appeared and taught other corsairs to navigate that sea. When the rats found that the ship was clear of people, they came out, and finding the sick man lying on a mattress, they attacked him with the intention of eating him. It is true that it has often happened on these voyages that the sick have been left alive at night, and found in the morning with their faces, parts of their bodies, arms, and legs eaten away. So the rats intended to treat that sick man, but he, seeing the army that was coming against him, got up as well as he could, snatched up the spit from the galley fire, and went back to bed, not to sleep, but to look out and defend himself from the enemies that were about to attack him. So he remained all that day and the next night, and the day after until late in the afternoon, when the rest of the crew returned. They found three hundred and eighty rats all round the bed and in every corner, which the sick man had killed with the spit, besides many others that were wounded.

The sick man, either from the terror he had gone through, or from joy at having gained the victory, recovered from his illness, and was well enough to recount the great battle he had fought with the rats. On the coast of Peru, at different points and in different years, great plagues were caused by the rats, which bred in such innumerable quantities, and overran so much land, that they destroyed the crops and the fruit trees. The trees withered so that it became necessary to plant others, and the people feared they would have to leave their towns. This would have fallen out if the plague had continued, and if God, in his mercy, had not abated it. Incredible mischief was done by these rats, which I will not further dwell upon, to avoid prolixity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE FOWLS AND PIGEONS.

It is right that we should mention the birds, although few have been introduced; only fowls and domestic pigeons. I do not know whether stock doves have yet been brought.

A certain author asserts that there were fowls in Peru before the conquest, and brings forward three facts in proof of this opinion. He says that the Indians, in their own language, call a fowl *qualpa*, and an egg *ronto*, and that the same saying is known to the Indians as to the Spaniards with reference to calling a man a chicken, to convey an idea of cowardice. We will consider whether these facts justify the conclusion.

We will leave the name *gualpa* to the last. As to the name *ronto*, it should have been written *runtu*, the *r* pronounced lightly, for, as has already been explained, there is no double *r* either in the beginning or the middle of a word. I answer that this word *runtu* applies to all eggs, and not especially to those of a domestic fowl. When the Indians, in their language, wish to specify to what bird an egg belongs, they name the bird jointly with the word for an egg, just as they do in Spain, saying a hen's-egg, a partridge's, or pigeon's egg. This will suffice to disprove the conclusion from the word *runtu*.

The saying applied to a coward that he is chicken-hearted has been adopted from the Spaniards by the Indians, in consequence of the conversations and intercourse that take place between them. Just in the same way the Spaniards who go into Italy, France, Flanders, and Germany, come home with foreign words and sayings interspersed amongst their own Castilian, which they have learnt from the foreigners. This is what the Indians have done, for the

Yncas had a more appropriate way of expressing cowardice. They said *huarmi*, which means a woman, and they used the word as a saying. The proper word for a coward in their language is *campa*, and the word for pusillanimous and poor spirited is *llanclla*. Thus the saying for a coward, that a man is chicken-hearted, has been robbed from the Spanish language, for it is not one belonging to the Indian language, and I, as an Indian, can give my word for that.

The word *gualpa*, which they say the Indians apply to a fowl, is corrupt as regards the letters, and shortened in respect to the syllables. It should be *Atahuallpa*, and it is not the name of a fowl but of the last Ynca of Peru, who was more cruel to those of his own kin than all the wild beasts and basilisks in the world. Being himself a bastard, he succeeded, by guile and cunning, in capturing and killing his elder legitimate brother, named Huascar Ynca, and in usurping the kingdom; and he destroyed all the men, women, and children of the blood royal, with cruelties and torments such as had never before been seen or heard of. The women and children, though they were more weak and tender, were killed by the tyrant with the greatest possible cruelty. Not satisfied with destroying his own flesh and blood, his fierce and inhuman rage extended to the destruction of the servants of the palace who, as we have mentioned in its place, were not particular persons, but the populations of whole villages, each village supplying porters, bearers, fuel cutters, water carriers, gardeners, cooks, and other similar workmen. He destroyed all these villages which surround Cuzco for a space of four to seven leagues, burning the buildings as well as killing the inhabitants. His cruelties would have extended further if the Spaniards, who entered the country when they were at their height, had not put a stop to them.

The Spaniards captured the tyrant Atahuallpa as soon as they entered the country, and put him to an ignominious

death, strangling him in public. The Indians said that their god the Sun, to avenge the treason and punish the tyrant who had slain his children, sent the Spaniards to execute justice upon him. Owing to his death the Indians obeyed the Spaniards as men sent by their god the Sun, yielding to them at all points, and not resisting the conquest as they might have done. They even worshipped them as sons and descendants of their god Uira-ccocha, child of the Sun, who appeared in a vision to one of their kings, who was hence called Ynca Uira-ccocha. They gave the same name to the Spaniards.

To these false beliefs concerning the Spaniards they added another piece of folly, which was that, as the Spaniards brought cocks and hens with them, which were among the first things from Spain that were introduced into Peru, and as they heard the cocks crow, the Indians said that, to ensure the perpetual infamy and disgrace of the tyrant's name, the cocks pronounced it in their crowing, uttering the word *Atahuallpa*. They pronounced it when they imitated the crowing of a cock.

The Indians told this fable to their children, according to their custom, to preserve traditions. The Indian boys, when they heard a cock crow, replied by singing the word *Atahuallpa* in the same tone. I confess the truth when I say that many of my schoolfellows, and I with them, being sons of Spaniards by Indian women, sang the word through the streets, in company with the little Indian boys.

In order that our chaunt may be more accurately understood, let four notes or points of a piece of music be imagined, in two bars; by which we sang the word *Atahuallpa*. Whoever heard it would recognise the ordinary crowing of a cock. The notes are two crochets, a minim, and a semibreve, all four notes on one key. We not only named the tyrant in our song, but also his principal captains whose names contained four syllables, as Challcuchima,

Quillis-cacha, and Rumi-ñaui. The last name means "stone eye", because he had a blemish in one of his eyes. This was the origin of the name *Atahuallpa* being given to the cocks and hens of Spain by the Indians. Father Blas Valera, having mentioned in his torn but valuable papers, the sudden death of Atahuallpa; and having described his merits at length; for they were considered to be very great by his vassals, although he committed unheard of cruelties upon his relations; adds the following words in his elegant Latin:—"When his death became known to the Indians, in order that the name of so great a man might not be forgotten, they consoled themselves by saying that, when the cocks crowed which the Spaniards brought with them, they were mourning for the death of Atahuallpa, and that they repeated his name in their song to preserve his memory. Hence they called the cock and its crowing *Atahuallpa*, and this is the origin of the name being adopted in all the languages, insomuch that not only the Indians, but even the Spaniards and the preachers now always use it."

Thus far is from Father Blas Valera, who received the account in the kingdom of Quitu, from the vassals of Atahuallpa, who, being fond of their native king, said that the cocks called the name in their crowing, to honour it and make it famous. But I received the same story at Cuzco, where he had committed great cruelties; and those who had suffered, being offended and injured, said that the cocks used his name to ensure its eternal infamy and disgrace. Each man speaks of the fair according as he has prospered in it.

Thus I believe that the three reasons for thinking that the domestic fowls were in Peru before the conquest, have now been disproved.[1] And, as this point has been cleared

[1] Yet *huallpa* certainly was the Ynca word for one of the game birds of the Peruvian forests, probably one of the *Alectors*. Hence the same name was given to the domestic fowl brought from Spain. The *huallpas* were doubtless in the aviaries of the Yncas, and the name was

up, so I believe many other assertions of the historians of that land might be corrected. With the fowls and pigeons that the Spaniards brought to Peru, came also the turkey of Mexico, which was not known before. It is worthy of note that the hens did not hatch chickens in the city of Cuzco, nor in any part of its valley, although all possible care was taken of them, because the climate is too cold. Those who discussed the subject, said that the reason was that the hens had not become accustomed to that climate. But in other warmer valleys, such as Yucay and Muyna, which are four leagues from the city, many chickens were hatched. The sterility of the hens at Cuzco lasted for more than thirty years, and in 1560, when I left that city, they had not begun to breed. Some years afterwards, among other things that were written to me by a gentleman named Garci Sanchez de Figueroa, he said that the hens were hatching chickens at Cuzco in great numbers.

In the year 1556 a gentleman belonging to Salamanca, named Don Martin de Guzman, who had been to Peru and returned again, brought with him some very beautiful harness and other curious things. Among them, he had a cage containing one of those little birds called canaries, because they are natives of the Canary Islands. It was highly prized because it sang so well. People were also astonished at such a little bird having crossed two vast oceans, and so many leagues of land as there are between Spain and Cuzco. I relate such trifling things, that other birds may be brought to that country, which will be more useful: such as the partridges and other game birds of Spain.

adopted by Indians long before the time of Atahuallpa. *Ata* may be a Quito prefix, or a corruption of the Ynca word *Hatun* (great).

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF WHEAT.

Having given an account of the birds, it will be well to mention the plants which were not found in Peru. It must be known, then, that the first person who brought wheat to my country (for I call all that empire which belonged to the Yncas my native land) was a lady of good birth named Maria de Escobar, who was married to a knight named Diego de Chaves, both being natives of Truxillo. I knew her in Cuzco; for she went to live there many years after she came to Peru. I did not know her husband, as he died in the City of the Kings.

This lady, worthy of high honour, brought wheat to the city of Rimac. For another such service the ancients worshipped Ceres as a goddess, but those of my country think little of this lady. I do not know in what year she introduced it; but there was so little seed that it was preserved and allowed to increase for three years, without making bread. For the corn did not cover half an *almud.*[1] Afterwards, during the three years, it was distributed at the rate of twenty or thirty grains to each person, and these were the nearest friends of the owner, who were thus to enjoy the fruits of the new corn.

As a reward for this service, and also because her husband was one of the first conquerors, they gave this estimable lady a good *repartimiento* of Indians in the City of the Kings. In the year 1547 no wheat bread had yet been seen in the city of Cuzco (though wheat had been introduced); for I remember the Bishop, Don Fray Juan de Solano, a Dominican Friar and native of Antequera, when he fled from the battle-field of Huarina, lodged in the house of my father, with fourteen or fifteen of his comrades. My mother treated them to

[1] A piece of ground which takes half a *fanega* of grain to cover it.

maize bread; and the Spaniards were so faint with hunger that, while the supper was being prepared, they took the grains of raw maize that had been given to their horses, and ate them as if they had been candied almonds. I do not know who introduced barley, but I believe that a grain of it happened to be amongst the wheat; for how much soever these two seeds may be sifted, they are never completely separated.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE VINE, AND THE FIRST THAT BORE GRAPES IN CUZCO.

The honour of having introduced the plant of Noah into Peru belongs to a gentleman of good birth from Toledo, named Francisco de Caravantes, who was one of the first conquerors. This knight, seeing that the country was settled and at peace, sent to Spain for the plant. The person who was employed to fetch it, brought it from the Canary Islands, that it might arrive more fresh. The plant was one bearing dark grapes, and hence nearly all the grapes are black. The wine is all red, and though they have since imported many other vines, and even the muscatel, yet there are no white grapes.

For what this knight did, the ancients worshipped the famous Bacchus as a god, yet he got little or no credit for his service to Peru. The Indians, although wine is now cheap, care little for it, being satisfied with their ancient beverage made of maize and water. I heard in Peru from a trustworthy gentleman, that an ingenious Spaniard made a seed plot of raisins brought from Spain, and that some of the pips of the raisins germinated, and sent up vine-shoots. But they were so delicate that it was necessary to keep them in the nursery for three or four years, before they

were strong enough to be planted out. The raisins were made from black grapes, and hence all the wine that was made from them was red. The anxiety of the Spaniards to see the things of their country in the Indies has been so great, and their efforts have been so efficacious, that neither danger nor trouble has been spared to attain their desires.

The first that brought grapes of his own gathering to Cuzco was a captain named Bartolomè de Terraças, one of the first conquerors of Peru, and one of those who went to Chile with the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. I knew this gentleman, who was very noble, liberal, magnificent, and possessed of all the virtues natural in a knight. He planted a vine in his *repartimiento* of Indians called Achanquillo, in the province of Cunti-suyu, whence, in the year 1555, to show the fruit he had raised and the liberality of his heart, he sent thirty Indians, laden with very beautiful grapes, to my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega, his intimate friend, with directions that he was to give some to all the cavaliers of Cuzco, that all might enjoy the fruits of his labour. It was a great treat to taste fresh fruit of Spain, and the gift was no less magnificent; for, if the grapes had been sold, they would have fetched four or five thousand *ducats*. I enjoyed a good share of the grapes myself; for my father selected me to be the ambassador of the Captain Bartolomè de Terraças, and, with two little Indian pages, I took two dishes of them to each house.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF WINE, OF THE FIRST THAT WAS MADE IN CUZCO, AND OF ITS PRICE.

In the year 1560, on my way to Spain, I passed by the estate of Pedro Lopez de Caçalla, native of Llerena, and a

citizen of Cuzco, who had been Secretary to the President Gasca. The estate is called Marca-huasi, and it is nine leagues from the city. It was on the 21st of January. I there found a Portuguese manager named Alfonso Vaez, who understood agriculture, and was a very good man. He took me all over the estate, which was covered with very beautiful grapes, without giving me a single bunch. The gift would have been very acceptable to a guest who was travelling like myself; but, nevertheless, he did not offer me one. When he saw that I was not unmindful of his want of liberality, he said I must pardon him, but that his master had ordered him not to touch even a pip of the grapes, because he wanted to make wine from them. This he did, pressing them in a trough, as a schoolfellow of mine afterwards told me in Spain, because he had no wine-press or other apparatus. I saw the trough in which the grapes were afterwards pressed. Pedro Lopez de Caçalla wanted to gain the prize which the Emperor Charles V had ordered to be given, from his royal treasury, to the first settlement of Spaniards that might produce fruit or grain from seed brought from Spain, such as wheat, barley, wine, or oil, in a certain quantity. Those princes of glorious memory gave this order to encourage the Spaniards to cultivate the land, and raise on it the products of Spain that do not grow naturally in the Indies.

The prize was two bars of silver, each worth three hundred *ducats*, and the quantity of wheat or barley produced was to be half a *cahez*,[1] and the quantity of wine or olive oil was to be four *arrobas*. Pedro Lopez de Caçalla did not wish to make the wine from a desire to secure the value of the prize, because he could have made much more by selling the grapes, but for the honour and glory of having been the first man in Cuzco to make wine from his vineyards. This is what happened touching the first wine that was made in

[1] About twelve bushels.

my native province. Other cities of Peru, such as Huamanca and Arequipa, made wine long before, and all of it was red. Speaking in Cordova with a Canon of Quitu on these subjects, he told me that he knew a Spaniard in that country who was well instructed on points connected with agriculture, and particularly in the management of vineyards. He was the first who brought the plant from Rimac to Quitu, where he had a fine vineyard on the banks of a river called Mira, under the equinoctial line. Here the climate is hot. He told me that this man showed him the vineyard, and, seeing the interest he felt in the matter, he explained how he set apart twelve plots from which he gathered grapes each month, and thus he had fresh grapes all the year round. He gathered the grapes in the rest of the vineyard once a year, as did all the other Spaniards who were his neighbours. They irrigate the vineyards, and on the banks of that river there is the same climate all the year round, as is the case in many other parts of that empire. Thus the seasons do little towards the growth of the plants in each month of the year, if it were not for the giving and withdrawing of irrigation. I saw the same in the growth of maize. In one plot they were sowing, in another it was sprouting, in another it was half grown, and in another it was bearing fruit. This was not done as a curious thing, but from necessity, according as the Indians had the opportunities for deriving benefit from their land.

Down to the year 1560, when I left Cuzco, they did not give wine at the tables of the citizens (being those who held *repartimientos* of Indians) to ordinary guests (unless it was necessary for health), because it was, at that time, considered more a vice than a necessity to drink wine. The Spaniards, having gained that empire entirely without the aid of wine or other similar luxuries, seem to have thought it well to maintain those good principles, by not drinking. They also preferred that their guests should not take it,

though they provided it, if required. The lowest price of wine was thirty *ducats* the *arroba;* for I remember it being thus sold, after the war of Francisco Hernandez Giron. In the time of Gonzalo Pizarro, and previously, it was worth much more, up to four hundred and five hundred *ducats* the arroba of wine; and in 1550 to 1555 there was a great scarcity of wine throughout the kingdom. In the City of the Kings this scarcity reached to such a height that there was no wine with which to say mass. The Archbishop, Don Geronimo de Loaysa, a native of Truxillo, instituted a search, and they found half a jar in one house, which was kept for saying mass. They were in this strait for some months, until a ship, belonging to two merchants whom I knew, but whom I will not name out of respect for their relations, arrived with two thousand *arrobas* of wine, and finding the great scarcity, they sold it at first for three hundred and sixty *ducats*, and afterwards at not less than two hundred *ducats*. The pilot of the ship told me this, when I went in her from the City of the Kings to Panama. These periods of scarcity prevented wine from being taken every day at table, in those days. One day, in those times, a cavalier, who had a *repartimiento* of Indians, invited another to dinner, who had none. Half a dozen Spaniards dined together, and were engaged in pleasant conversation. The guest, who had no Indians, asked for a jug of water to drink. The master of the house ordered that he should be given wine, and when the other said he did not drink it, the host said:—"Well, if you do not drink wine, pray come and dine here every day." He said that because, in comparison with wine, the cost of all other things was as nothing, and even wine was not valued so much because of the cost, but because of the extreme difficulty of getting any at all, it having to be brought from so distant a country as Spain, across two oceans. This was the reason that it was prized so highly in those early days.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE OLIVE, AND WHO FIRST INTRODUCED IT INTO PERU.

In the same year, 1560, Don Antonio de Ribera, formerly a citizen of the City of the Kings, having been in Spain some years previously as Procurator-General of Peru, came back with some plants of the olives of Seville. But, in spite of all his care and diligence, out of a hundred seedlings brought out in two large jars, only three were alive when he reached the City of the Kings. He placed them in a very beautiful piece of ground surrounded by a wall, in the valley of the Rimac, where he raised grapes, figs, pomegranates, melons, oranges, limes, and other fruits and vegetables of Spain; from which he made great profit by selling them in the City of the Kings. It is confidently asserted that he made two hundred thousand *pesos*. Don Antonio de Ribera planted the olives in this garden, and that no one else might be able to get even a leaf from them to plant in any other place, he stationed a great army of more than a hundred negros and thirty dogs, to watch day and night, and to guard his precious olive plants. It happened that others, who watched better than the dogs, or who bribed the negros, managed to steal one of the three plants. A few days afterwards it was sent to Chile, a distance of six hundred leagues from the City of the Kings, where it was kept for three years, propagating young plants with such good effect, that no cutting ever failed to take root and soon grow into a very beautiful olive tree.

At the end of the three years the plant was returned and placed in the same spot from whence it had been taken, and this was done so cunningly and secretly that the owner never knew either who had committed the theft, or who had made the restitution. The olives have thriven better in

Chile than in Peru, possibly because there the land is not so unlike their native habitat, Chile being in 30° to 40°, which is nearly the latitude of Spain. In Peru they yield better in the Sierra than in the coast valleys. At first it was considered a great treat to present three olives to a guest, and no more. Now they import olive-oil into Peru from Chile. This is what has taken place with respect to the introduction of olives into my native country. We will now proceed to enumerate the other plants and vegetables that were not found in Peru.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE FRUITS OF SPAIN, AND OF THE SUGAR CANE.

There were neither figs, pomegranates, citrons, oranges, sweet or sour limes, apples, pears, quinces, nectarines, peaches, nor any of the numerous kinds of cherries in Peru. There was only a sort of cherry differing from those of Spain, which the Spaniards call cherry, and the Indians *ussun*. I say this that it may not be confused with the cherries of Spain. There were no melons nor pumpkins. But all the above-mentioned fruits, and many others have since been introduced and are now in such abundance, and so much finer than the same fruits of their class that are grown in Spain, that the Spaniards who see them are struck with admiration.

In the City of the Kings, as soon as the pomegranate trees bore fruit, one was carried in the litter of the most Holy Sacrament, in the procession of that festival, which was so large that every one was astonished who saw it. I scarcely dare to mention its size, as it was reported to me, for fear of scandalising the ignorant, who will not believe

that any thing in the world is better than what grows round their own villages. Yet it is a pity that, from fear of such foolish persons, I should omit to describe the wonderful works of nature in that land. To return, therefore, to these fruits, I may say that they have grown wonderfully in Peru. The pomegranate, mentioned above, was larger than one of the jars that they make in Seville for carrying olives to the Indies. Many bunches of grapes have been raised in Peru, weighing eight or ten pounds, quinces the size of a man's head, citrons half the size of a pitcher. This will suffice touching the great size of the Spanish fruits, and afterwards we will describe the growth of the vegetables, which will cause no less astonishment.

I should be glad to know who were the ingenious persons who introduced these plants, and at what time, that I might record their names and the places of their birth, and give them the praise and the blessing that such useful deeds deserve. In 1580 a Spaniard, named Gaspar de Alcocer, a rich merchant of the City of the Kings, where he had a fine estate, introduced a plant of the cherry; but I have been told that it was lost through over zeal in trying to propagate from it. Almonds have been introduced, but I do not know whether walnuts have yet been raised in Peru. There were no sugar canes; but at present, owing to the diligence of the Spaniards, and the great fertility of the land, there is such abundance of all these things that, while at first they were valued so highly, they are now despised and held very cheap.

The first sugar-cane estate in Peru, was in the province of Huanucu, and belonged to a cavalier whom I knew. A servant of his, who was a prudent and ingenious man, seeing that they brought much sugar to Peru from the kingdom of Mexico, and that, owing to the quantity imported, his master's sugar did not fetch a good price, advised his master to load a ship with sugar, and to send it to New Spain

in order that the people there, seeing sugar arriving from Peru, might understand that there was a superfluity in that country, and that they need not send any more. This was done, and the design was successsful. Many sugar estates have since been established in Peru.

I am told that some Spaniards, learned in agriculture, have made grafts of the fruit trees of Spain on those of Peru, and that very wonderful fruits are the result, to the great astonishment of the Indians, at seeing a tree bear two, three, and four different kinds of fruits in the year. They admire these things because they were not themselves accustomed to do anything of the kind. The agriculturist might also (if it has not already been done) graft olives on the trees called by the Indians *quishuar*, the wood and leaf of which are very like those of the olive. I remember that the Spaniards told me, when I was a child, on seeing a *quishuar*, that the olives and olive oil brought from Spain, were gathered from trees very like it. It is true that the *quishuar* does not bear fruit; but it sends forth a flower very like that of the olive, which presently falls. In Cuzco we played at canes with the young shoots of that tree, the climate being too cold to produce canes.[1]

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE GARDEN STUFFS AND HERBS, AND CONCERNING THEIR GROWTH.

None of the vegetables that are eaten in Spain were found in Peru; neither lettuces, endives, radishes, spinach, beet-

[1] The *quishuar* or *quisuar* tree, is the *Buddleia Incana R.P.*, growing in the neighbourhood of Tarma and Huarochiri. In the Collao there is a tree of the same genus, the *Buddleia coriacea*, the native name of which is *ccolli*. The Spaniards call it *Oliva silvestre*.

root, mint, coriander, artichokes, asparagus, carrots, parsley, penny-royal, nor any of the useful herbs of Spain. Of the seeds they had neither beans, peas, mustard, caraway, anise, rice, lavender, cumin, marjoram, fennel, poppy, clover, nor camomile; nor had they roses, pinks, jessamine, lilies, nor white musk roses.

But now they have all these herbs and flowers in such abundance that some of them are becoming mischievous, such as the mustard, mint, and camomile, which have spread to such an extent in some of the valleys that they have overcome the power and diligence of the inhabitants in pulling them up, and have even changed the ancient names of the valleys. Thus the Valley of Mint, on the sea coast, used to be called Rucma, and there are other instances. In the City of the Kings the first endives and spinach multiplied in such a way that a horse could not force its way through them. The monstrous size and great abundance of the legumes and cereals that were first sown is almost incredible. Wheat, in many parts, at first yielded three hundred *fanegas* and more for one *fanega* that was planted.

In the Valley of Huarcu, in a village that the Viceroy Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, has recently ordered to be established, when I was passing through on my way to Spain, in the year 1560, a citizen, named Garci Vasquez, who had been a servant of my father, took me to his house and gave me some supper. He said: "Eat of this bread, which is part of a yield of three hundred *fanegas*, and take the news with you to Spain." I was astonished at the great yield, for I had not been accustomed to hear of anything like it. Garci Vasquez then said to me: "Do not be hard of belief, for what I tell you is true, on the word of a Christian. I sowed two and a half *fanegas* of wheat, and I have reaped six hundred and eighty, besides losing as much again for want of reapers."

I told the same story to Gonzalo Silvestre, of whom we

have said much in our history of Florida, and of whom we shall make further mention, if we reach so far, in this work. He answered that it was not very wonderful; for that, in the province of Chuquisaca, near the river Pillcumayu, on some land of his, he raised four hundred and five hundred *fanegas* from one. In 1556, when Don Garcia de Mendoza, son of the Viceroy, was on his way to the government of Chile, and touched at Arica, they told him that, in a neighbouring valley called Cusapa, there was a radish[1] of such a marvellous size, that five horses were tethered under its shade; and they wanted him to come and see it. Don Garcia said that he must see it with his own eyes, that he might be able to vouch for the story. He went with several others, and saw that what had been told him was true. The radish was so thick that a man could scarcely make his arms meet round it, and so tender that it was afterwards brought to the lodging of Don Garcia, and eaten by many of the company. In the valley called the Valley of Mint they have measured many shoots which were two and a half yards long. The person who measured them is now with me in my house, and I write this on his authority.

In May 1595, I was talking with a gentleman named Don Martin de Contreras, nephew of the famous Francisco de Contreras, Governor of Nicaragua, in the holy cathedral church of Cordova; and I observed that I feared to mention the size of the cereals and vegetables of Peru, in this part of my history, because it would appear incredible to persons who had only seen those of Spain. He told me not to omit anything, that people might believe or not as they pleased, and that it was sufficient for me to state the truth. He added, "I am myself an eye-witness of the size of the radish at Cusapa; for I am one of those who accompanied Don Garcia de Mendoza, and I give my word of honour as a gentleman, that I saw the five horses tied to its branches,

[1] *Rabano.*

and afterwards I ate part of it, with the others. You may add that, during the same journey, I saw a melon at Yca that weighed four arrobas and three pounds; and this was registered before a notary, that such a wonderful thing might have credible witnesses. And in the valley of Yucay I ate a lettuce that weighed seven and a half pounds." This gentleman told me many other things touching the cereals, vegetables, and fruits, which I omit in order not to tire those that may read my work.

The Father Acosta, in the nineteenth chapter of his fourth book, where he treats of the vegetables and fruits of Peru, writes as follows, copied word for word:—

"I have not found that the Indians had gardens for vegetables, but they broke the ground up for legumes such as they have, called *frijoles*, which they use instead of beans and peas. They had none of the garden-stuffs of Spain, but the Spaniards have introduced them, and in some places they thrive better in Peru, especially the melons in the valley of Yca, where they form a trunk, and last for years. They prune them as if they were trees, a thing which I do not believe to be practised in any part of Spain."

Thus far is from Father Acosta, whose authority encourages me to speak, without fear, of the great fertility of that land, as shown when the Spanish fruits were first planted, and throve in so wonderful and incredible a manner. That which the Father writes is not the least wonderful, and it may be added that the melons displayed another excellence. None of them became bad when they were left to ripen, and this was another sign of the fertility of the soil. As the first melons in the valley of Rimac gave rise to a good story, it will be well to insert it here, and thus show the simplicity of the Indians in ancient times. A citizen of the City of the Kings, and one of the first conquerors, named Antonio Solar, had an estate in Pachacamac, four leagues from the City of the Kings, which was managed by

a Spaniard. This manager sent ten melons to his master, on the backs of two Indians, with a letter. On setting out, the manager told them not to eat any of the melons, because if they did, the letter would tell of them. The Indians set out, and when they got half way, they unloaded themselves to rest. One of them, moved by the spirit of gluttony, said to the other, "Shall we not taste this fruit from the estate of our master?" The other answered, "No; for if we eat it, this letter will tell of us, as the manager says." The first replied, "It will be a good plan to put the letter out of sight, and if it does not see us eating, it will not be able to say anything." His companion was satisfied with this proposal, and, hiding the letter, they ate one of the melons. In those early days the Indians did not know what letters were, and thought that the letters the Spaniards wrote were like messengers, and that they spoke what the Spaniards told them. They fancied also that they were like spies, and that they reported what they saw on the road. This was the reason that one Indian proposed to the other to put the letter out of sight, that it might not see them when they were eating. When they were getting ready to proceed on their journey, the Indian who had five melons in his load said to the other, "Do not let us go unequally laden, it will be well for us to make the loads equal; for, if you carry four and I five, they will suspect that we have eaten the odd one." His companion rejoined, "You say well." Then, in order to conceal one fault they committed another, and ate a second melon. They presented the eight that were left to their master, who, after reading the letter, asked them where the two missing melons were? They both answered at once, saying that they only received eight. Antonio Solar said, "Why do you lie to me, when this letter says that you were given ten. You must have eaten two of them." The Indians were astonished that the letter should openly tell their master what they had done in secret. They were con-

fused, and knew not how to deny the truth. They went out, saying that the Spaniards might well be called gods, and have the name Uira-ccocha, when they could find out such great secrets.

Gomara tells a similar story touching what took place when Cuba was first occupied. It is not wonderful that the same sort of ignorance should be displayed in different places, by various nations, for the simplicity of the Indians of the New World, regarding things beyond their experience, was the same everywhere. They attributed to a supernatural cause every advantage that the Spaniards had over them, such as riding horses, ploughing with oxen, making mills, spanning great rivers with arches, firing guns so as to kill at two hundred paces, and other similar things. Hence also the two Indians called their master a god, because of the letter.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF FLAX, ASPARAGUS, CARROTS, AND ANISE.

They had no flax in Peru. Doña Catalina de Retes, a native of the town of San Lucar de Barrameda, and mother-in-law of Francisco de Villafuerte, one of the first conquerors, a native of Cuzco, and a very noble and religious woman, and one of the first inhabitants of the convent of Santa Clara of Cuzco, sent to Spain for linseed to sow, and for a loom to weave linen in her home, in 1560. I left Peru in that year, and did not hear whether she received them or not. I have since heard that they gather plenty of flax, but I do not know whether my relations, Spanish and Indians, have become great weavers; for I never saw them at work. But I have seen them work and sew; for they had no flax when I was in the country, only very fine cotton, and beautiful

wool which the Indian girls worked up with exquisite skill. They spun and carded the cotton and wool with their fingers; for they had no teazels, nor wheels for spinning. If they were not great workers of linen, they had an excuse, for they had not the means.

Returning to the subject of the great value that the Spaniards in Peru at first set upon the commonest things that came from Spain, as soon as they arrived; I remember that, in 1555 or 1556, Garcia de Melo, a native of Truxillo, and then treasurer of his Majesty's finances in Cuzco, sent three stalks of asparagus to my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega. He sent a message to say that they were the first that had been seen in Cuzco, and for that reason he sent them. They were very fine, two being as large round as the fingers of a man's hand, and a *tercia* in length. The third was thicker and shorter. They all were so tender that they broke of themselves. My father, to do more honour to the vegetables of Spain, ordered that they should be cooked in his own apartment, at the *brasero* that stood there, in presence of seven or eight gentlemen who were having supper with him. When the asparagus was cooked, he sent for salt and vinegar, and Garcilasso my Lord divided the two largest with his own hand, giving each of his guests a mouthful. He took the third for himself, saying that they must pardon him, for that, as it was a thing of Spain, he wished to have the advantage for that time. In this manner they ate the asparagus with great pleasure and enjoyment; and, though I waited upon them, and brought all the trimmings, I did not get any.

At the same time the Captain Bartolomè de Terrazas brought my father, as a great present, three carrots[1] from

[1] *Biznaga*, which the Dictionary of the Academy describes as a wild carrot (*Dauco sylvestre*). It has small bundles at the ends of the roots, which are used as tooth-picks. But the *Biznaga* of the text was probably a common carrot.

Spain. They were served up at dinner when he had the next party, and, for greater magnificence, he gave a *pajuela* for them.[1]

Anise was brought to Cuzco at about the same time, and was baked in the bread as a thing of great value, as if it had been the nectar or the ambrosia of the gods. All the things of Spain were valued in the same way, when they first began to arrive from Spain. I write an account of these things, though they may seem to be of little importance, because in time to come, which is the period when histories are of most use, men may rejoice to hear them. The other plants, cereals and legumes, have multiplied in the way that has been mentioned. They have also planted mulberries, and imported silk-worms, which were also unknown in Peru, but they have not been able to work the silk, owing to a very great difficulty that has arisen.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NEW NAMES TO DISTINGUISH DIFFERENT GENERATIONS.

One of the chief things that have happened in the Indies, which must not be forgotten, is the introduction of Negroes, whom the Spaniards have brought there as slaves to work for them; for there were none in my country before the conquest. From these two races others have arisen, mixed in various ways, and they have given them different names for distinction. In our history of Florida we said something on this subject, but it will be well to repeat it here, as this is the proper place. They call a Spanish man or woman who comes from Spain a Spaniard or a Castillian; for they have

[1] *Pajuela* is a torch of straw. I suppose it means that there was an illumination in honour of the carrots.

both names there for the same thing, and I have used them in my history of Florida. The sons of a Spanish man and woman, born in the country, are called *Creoles,* which means that they are born in the country. It is a name that was invented by the Negroes. Among them it means a Negro born in the Indies, as distinguished from one born in Guinea. They hold those who are born in their native country in more honour than the children who are born in a strange land, and the parents are offended if they are called *Creoles.* The Spaniards, to express the same thing, have adopted the word into their language, to designate those born in the country. Thus both Spaniards and Negroes born in the Indies are called *Creoles.* The Negro who comes from Africa is called *Negro* or *Guineo.* The son of a Negro by an Indian woman, or of an Indian by a Negress, is called a *Mulatto.* Their children are called *Cholos,* a word brought from the Windward Islands, and meaning dog. The Spaniards use the word as a term of contempt and reproach. The sons of a Spaniard by an Indian woman, or of an Indian by a Spanish woman are called *Mestizos,* which means that we are a mixture of both nations. It was adopted by the first Spaniards who had children by Indian women; and, being a name given by our parents, I call myself by it with open mouth, and pride myself upon it. But the Indians look upon it as an insult, if anyone calls them *Mestizos.* Hence they adopted, with great joy, the name *Montañes,* which, with other vituperative epithets, the Spaniards gave them in place of that of *Mestizos.* The Spaniards do not consider that even in Spain the term *Montañes* is an honourable appellation, by reason of the privileges that were granted to the mountaineers of Asturias and Biscay. But to call any one by that name who is not a native of those provinces is an insult, for, in its usual signification, it means a thing of the mountains; as the great master, Antonio de Lebrija, who has the credit of all the

sound Latinity of which Spain can now boast,[1] says in his vocabulary. The equivalent word in the general language of Peru is *Sacha-runa*, which properly means a savage. That excellent master, Lebrija, called men *Montañeses* when he wished to insinuate covertly that they were savages. But my relations, not understanding the malicious design in applying that name, set store by their affront; instead of hating and detesting it, and calling themselves by the names of their fathers, while refusing to receive new and insulting appellations. The son of a Spaniard and a *Mestiza*, or of a *Mestizo* and a Spanish woman, is called *Quatralvo*, meaning that he is three parts Spanish and one Indian. The son of a *Mestizo* and an Indian woman, or of an Indian and *Mestiza* is called *Tresalvo*, having three parts Indian and one Spanish.[2] All these names, and others which I do not mention to avoid being tedious, have been invented in my country to designate the generations that have risen up since the arrival of the Spaniards; and we may say that the Spaniards brought them with the other things, as they were not there before. We

[1] Antonio de Lebrija published a Latin grammar in Latin, which he translated into Spanish for the use of the ladies of the court. In 1492 he published the first Castillian grammar and dictionary. Ticknor says that Lebrija did more to advance the cause of letters in Spain than any other scholar of his time.

[2] The list of mixed races given in Stevenson's work contains several mistakes. The most correct is that of Von Tschudi.

Children of parents emigrated from the Old World, whether white or black, are *Creoles*, as Garcilasso tells us. Children of a white father and Indian mother are *Mestizos;* of a white father and Negress, *Mulattos;* of an Indian father and Negress, *Chinos;* of a white father and a Mulatta, *Cuarterones;* of a white father and a Cuarterona, *Quintero;* of a Negro and Mulatta, *Zambo Neyro;* of a Negro and Mestiza, *Mulatto-Oscuro:* of a Negro and China, *Zambo-Chino;* of an Indian and Mulatta, *Chino-Oscuro;* of an Indian and Mestiza, *Mestizo Claro;* of an Indian and China, *Chino-Cholo;* of an Indian and Zamba, *Zambo-Claro;* of a Mulatta and Zamba, *Zambo.*

will now return to the Kings Yncas, sons of the great Huayna Ccapac, who are calling us that they may occupy us with grand events.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HUASCAR YNCA SEEKS AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF VASSALAGE FROM HIS BROTHER ATAHUALLPA.

After the death of Huayna Ccapac, his sons reigned peacefully for four or five years, without attempting or even designing new conquests. For the King Huascar was bounded on the north by the kingdom of Quitu, which was possessed by his brother, and only in that direction, beyond Quitu, were there new lands to conquer. But in the other three directions all had been subdued, from the dense forests of the Antis to the ocean, while to the south the country had been subdued as far as the kingdom of Chile. The Ynca Atahuallpa also refrained from attempting new conquests, in order to devote his time to the affairs of his vassals. After having passed a few years in this peaceful state, as a reigning sovereign cannot suffer an equal or even a second, Huascar Ynca began to reflect that he had not done well in consenting to the demand of his father, touching the kingdom of Quitu, which was given up to his brother Atahuallpa. Besides having deprived the empire of a very important province, the arrangement had prevented the Ynca from proceeding with new conquests, which were left open for his brother to achieve, and thereby increase the size of his kingdom, so that it might eventually become larger than the empire of the Yncas. Thus he who should be monarch, or Sapa Ynca, the meaning of which word is sole Lord, would in time be reduced to having an equal, or even a superior.

His brother, being restless and ambitious, might become so powerful as to conceive the idea of seizing the whole empire.

These thoughts increased in his mind day by day, and caused such anxiety in the bosom of Huascar Ynca that he could not continue without taking some active step. He sent a relation as his messenger to his brother Atahuallpa, saying that he knew well how, by the ancient constitution of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac, respected by all his descendants, the kingdom of Quitu, and all the other provinces that he possessed, belonged to the crown and empire of Cuzco. He had, he said, complied with the demand of his father, but it had been a forced obedience, and not a submission to a just decree; for it was an injury to the crown and to those who would succeed to it. His father ought not to have made such a demand, nor was he bound to comply with it. But, as it had been the wish of his father and he had consented to it, he would gladly abide by it on two conditions. One was that his brother should not extend the boundaries of his kingdom by a single hand's breadth, because all that he might acquire should be a part of the empire. The other was that he should acknowledge himself to be vassal and feudatory of the Ynca.[1]

Atahuallpa received this message with submission and humility; and, after considering the matter for three days, he answered with much sagacity, caution, and astuteness. He said that, in his heart, he had always acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Sapa Ynca, his Lord; that not only would he refrain from adding anything to his kingdom of Quitu, but that, if his Majesty desired it, he would renounce the kingdom altogether and live privately at his

[1] Velasco says that the first cause of quarrel arose on the death of Chamba, Chief of the Cañaris, in 1529, when his son applied for investiture to Huascar, and not to Atahuallpa. The generals, Quizquiz and Chalcuchima, then marched into the province of the Cañaris.

court, like any other of his relations, serving him in peace and war, as his Prince and Lord, and obeying him in all things. The messenger of the Ynca sent the reply of Atahuallpa by post, that it might arrive more rapidly than if he took it himself, and he remained at the court of Atahuallpa, to convey the answer that the Ynca might forward in return. The Ynca was well satisfied, and answered that he rejoiced greatly to see his brother in possession of what his father had demanded for him. He announced that he would confirm the grant, and that his brother should come to Cuzco and do him homage faithfully and loyally. The answer of Atahuallpa was, that it was a great joy to him to comply with this demand, and that he would come to express his obedience, but that, in order to make the submission more solemn, he prayed for permission to bring people from all the provinces of his kingdom with him, to celebrate the obsequies of his father, the Ynca Huayna Ccapac, in the city of Cuzco, in accordance with the custom of the kingdom of Quitu, and of the other provinces. After this ceremony was completed, he promised to take the oath of submission, together with his vassals. Huascar Ynca conceded all that his brother demanded, and said that he would order all that was desired touching the obsequies of his father, and that he rejoiced much that the ceremony should be performed according to the custom of Quitu. Both brothers were well satisfied, the one being very far from imagining the treasonable designs to deprive him of his life and his empire, the other very diligent and cautious to entrap him, so that he should no longer enjoy the one nor the other.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CUNNING POLICY OF ATAHUALLPA, TO THROW HIS BROTHER OFF HIS GUARD.

The King Atahuallpa ordered a proclamation to be made throughout his dominions that all able-bodied men should prepare to march to Cuzco, within a certain time, to celebrate the obsequies of the great Huayna Ccapac his father, in accordance with the ancient custom of each nation, and to take the oath of homage to the monarch Huascar Ynca. For both ceremonies they were ordered to bring all their festal dresses and ornaments, because it was desired that the occasion should be celebrated in a most solemn manner. On the other hand, Atahuallpa gave secret orders to his captains that each one should select a chosen band, and instruct them to bring their arms secretly, because he intended rather to fight battles than to attend at obsequies. He ordered that they should march in squadrons of five or six thousand Indians, who were to pretend to be servants and not soldiers, and each squadron was to keep two or three leagues apart from the next one. He ordered that the first captains as soon as they were ten or twelve marches from Cuzco, should proceed more slowly, that those in the rear might close up and double their day's march, in order quickly to overtake the front squadrons. By this arrangement the King Atahuallpa sent forward more than thirty thousand warriors, most of them chosen veterans whom his father had left, with the famous and experienced captains who always accompanied him. Two masters of the camp were the leaders and chief officers. One was named Challcuchima[1]

[1] Chalcuchima, the general of Atahuallpa, was a son of Epicalchima, and nephew of Scyri Cacha, the last native King of Quito. He was burnt at the stake, by Pizarro, in the valley of Sacsahuana, because he

and the other Quizquiz.[1] The Ynca gave out that he should travel with the last squadrons.

Huascar Ynca trusted to the word of his brother, and much more to the long experience that there was among the Indians, of the respect and loyalty that all the vassals, and much more his brothers and relations, felt for the Ynca. Thus, in the twelfth chapter of his sixth book, Father Acosta says that, without doubt, these people felt deep reverence and affection for their Yncas, and that none had ever been guilty of treason. Huascar Ynca, therefore, not only had no suspicion, but gave orders that provisions should be supplied with the greatest liberality, and that the advancing people should be treated as brothers coming to perform the obsequies of his father, and to take the oath that was due from them. Thus things proceeded with the one side and the other. Those of Huascar showed the simplicity and kindness that they felt, while those of Atahuallpa were full of the malice and caution that had been taught in their school.

Atahuallpa made use of this caution and cunning to

was suspected of having instigated the resistance of the Indians to the advance of the Spaniards on Cuzco. He had a brother, named Cachulima, who assisted Don Sebastian Belalcazar in the conquest of Quito, and was continued in the Lordship of Cacha, in which his descendants were confirmed by Charles V. He was the first Quito chief who became a Christian, and was baptised by Fray Marcos Niza, under the name of Don Marcos Duchicela. His family enjoyed their estates and privileges until 1640, in which year Cacha was entirely destroyed by an earthquake. One daughter of the royal house of Quito escaped, named Doña Maria Duchicela. She was educated at Riobamba, and was confirmed in what remained of the ancestral estate, which, after the earthquake, was called Yaruquias. She had no children, but erected an asylum for children at Quito, and died at a great age in 1700. The royal house of Quito then became extinct.—*Velasco*, vol. ii, lib. II, 6.

[1] Quizquiz continued in arms against the Spaniards, after Pizarro had occupied Cuzco. Almagro and Ynca Manco marched against him, and there were several sharp encounters. At last Quizquiz was defeated in a battle near Xauxa. He fled to Quito and still held out, till at length his own followers, wearied by these long and ineffectual hostilities, killed him in cold blood.

advance, with dissimulation, against his brother; for he was not sufficiently powerful to make war openly. He trusted and hoped for more by using deceit, than from his arms. By finding the King Huascar off his guard, as was the case, Atahuallpa won the game, while if he had given reason for his brother to be prepared, he would have lost it.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HUASCAR RECEIVES A WARNING, AND SUMMONS HIS FOLLOWERS.

The men of Quitu marched in the order that has been described for nearly four hundred leagues, and until they were within a hundred leagues of Cuzco. Some old Yncas, governors of provinces through which they passed, who had been captains, and were experienced in the affairs of peace and war, seeing so large a force, began to feel some alarm. It appeared to them that, for the solemnities of the obsequies, five or six thousand men would have sufficed, or, at the outside, ten thousand; while it was unnecessary for common people to come and do homage. For that duty it was sufficient that the Curacas who were lords of vassals, the governors and war-captains, and Atahuallpa himself should come, who was the chief of all, and whose restless mind and astute and warlike disposition, would not admit of his remaining in peace and in good fellowsnip. Filled with these fears and suspicions, they sent secret warnings to the King Huascar Ynca, entreating him to be on his guard respecting his brother Atahuallpa, and assuring him that it was not well that he should be approaching with so large a force.

These warnings awoke Huascar from his sleep of confidence, in which he had been reposing. He sent messengers, with all diligence, to the provinces of Anti-suyu, Colla-suyu,

and Cunti-suyu, commanding that all the troops that could be assembled, should be sent to Cuzco with all speed. He did not send messengers to the province of Chincha-suyu, which was the largest and most warlike, because it was already occupied by the hostile army that was marching through it. The people of Atahuallpa, taking advantage of the carelessness of Huascar and his officers, had, day by day, been increasing in confidence and malice; and their advanced guard reached to a point only forty leagues from Cuzco, where they halted for the rest to join them. In the space of a few days, more than twenty thousand warriors had crossed the river Apurimac without opposition; and they then began to appear as avowed enemies in arms, with banners and military insignia displayed. They advanced, little by little, in three bodies, which were the vanguard, the main battle, and the rear guard consisting of ten thousand men. They arrived at the pass of Villacunca,[1] which is six leagues from the city. Atahuallpa remained on the frontier of his kingdom, and decided upon staying at a distance until he knew the result of the first battle, in which he placed all his hopes, by reason of the confidence and carelessness of his enemy, and the valour and energy of his own captains and veteran soldiers.

The King Huascar Ynca, seeing that his enemies were so close, sent out a summons for his troops to assemble with all possible speed. But the province of Colla-suyu is more than two hundred leagues away, and the vassals were unable to arrive in time to be of any use. Those of Anti-suyu were few in number, that land being thinly populated by reason of the dense forests. The province of Cunti-suyu was more highly favoured and more populous. Its Curacas assembled with upwards of thirty thousand men, but they were unpractised in arms, owing to the want of opportunity during the long peace. The Ynca Huascar, with all his

[1] A misprint. See the note at page 51. It should be Uilca-cunca.

relations and the army that he had succeeded in bringing together, consisting of nearly ten thousand men, marched out to join the men of Cunti-suyu to the west of the city, and wait there for further reinforcements.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE YNCAS. VICTORY OF ATAHUALLPA, AND HIS CRUELTY.

The troops of Atahuallpa were experienced soldiers, and, seeing that they might risk the loss of a victory by too long a delay, marched in search of Huascar Ynca, to give him battle before he could be joined by the rest of his forces. They found him on a great plain, two or three leagues to the west of the city, where a desperate battle was fought, without either party obtaining any advantage. They fought fiercely, the one side to get the Ynca Huascar into their power, as he was an inestimable prize, and the other that they might not lose him who was their well-beloved king. The battle lasted all day, with many killed on both sides. But at last, owing to the absence of the Collas, and because the troops of Huascar were inexperienced in war, those of the Ynca Atahuallpa gained the victory. As soldiers who were well-practised in war, one of them was worth ten of their opponents. In the pursuit they captured Huascar Ynca, by dint of their great diligence in following him, for they knew that nothing would have been achieved if he escaped. He had taken to flight with about a thousand chosen men, who all died in his presence, some being killed by the enemy, and others killing themselves on seeing that their king was taken. Besides the royal person, they captured many Curacas, captains, and a vast number of noble

persons, who, like sheep without a shepherd, knew not where to fly or how to rally. Many of them who could have escaped, knowing that the Ynca was a prisoner, came to prison with him, for the love and loyalty they bore him.

The troops of Atahuallpa were well satisfied at so great a victory and so rich a prize as the imperial person of Huascar Ynca, with all the chief officers of his army. They guarded him with great care, and selected four captains and the best soldiers in the army to watch over him, without losing sight of his person day or night. They then ordered a proclamation to be made, announcing the capture of the king Huascar, that it might be known to all the empire, and that the reinforcements might give up their intentions, now that their king was taken. They sent the news of the victory and of the capture of Huascar to their king Atahuallpa by post.

This was the main result of the war between the two brothers, the last kings of Peru. The other battles and encounters mentioned by the Spanish historians were skirmishes on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, between the captains in command of garrisons,[1] and the imprisonment of

[1] Balboa gives a much more detailed account of the war between Huascar and Atahuallpa. He received it from the officers of Atahuallpa at Quito, and it is naturally more favourable to the usurper, though it does not gloss over his abominable cruelties.

Balboa says that, after the death of Huayna Ccapac, Atahuallpa sent messages of congratulation to his brother; to which Huascar sent back haughty replies, in consequence of Urco Colla, the Chief of the Cañaris, having sent secretly to tell him that Atahuallpa was preparing to make himself Emperor. Then Atahuallpa made a last attempt at conciliation by sending Quilaco Yupanqui as an envoy, son of Auqui Tupac Yupanqui, one of the executors of Huayna Ccapac, who had been put to death by Huascar's order at Limatambo. The Ynca Huascar accused Quilaco of being a spy, and dismissed him. A very romantic love story is told of young Quilaco.

Then Huascar sent his general, Atoc, with an army, to invade Quito. He defeated the Quito army at Mocha, but Atahuallpa assembled a new force, entirely defeated the Yncas in a great battle at Lactacunga, and captured their chiefs. He put Atoc and Urco Colla, the Cañari chief,

Atahuallpa that is mentioned, was a report that he himself ordered to be spread, to inspire Huascar and his people with false confidence. The fable that his father the Sun had turned him into a serpent, that he might escape through a hole in the apartment where he was confined, was invented to make good his usurpation. It was intended that the common people should believe that their god the Sun

to death. Huascar sent a new army under his brother, the Ynca Huanca Auqui, who reached Tumipampa, and repulsed Atahuallpa in a first encounter. But the Yncas retreated, and the King of Quito took a cruel vengeance on their allies the Cañaris. The army of Atahuallpa then advanced, led by chiefs named Chalcuchima, Quizquiz, and Rumiñaui, while Quilaco, the envoy lover, commanded the reserve. Huanca Auqui retreated to the valley of Xauxa, fighting as he fell back, and was there joined by reinforcements under an Ynca named Mayta Yupanqui. The war had raged for four years. A great battle was fought at Yanamarca, between Tarma and Xauxa, in which the army of Quito was victorious. The Yncas fled, and Huascar rallied them behind the Apurimac, near the plain of Sacsahuana. The troops of Cunti-suyu were sent into their own country, to encamp on the heights of Cochabamba in Umasuyu, and harass the enemy's flank if he attempted to cross the river of Cotapampa. Huanac Auqui was ordered to hold the bridge of Apurimac.

A detachment of the Quito army, under Chalcuchima, attempted to march on Cuzco by way of Chumpi-uilca, but they were defeated by the troops of Cunti-suyu, and driven behind the river Cotapampa. Meanwhile, Quizquiz, with the main body of the Quito army, suddenly attacked Huascar at a place called Chontacaxas. After a desperate battle, the Yncas were entirely defeated, and Huascar was taken prisoner. Quizquiz then encamped at Quisipay (the *Quepaypa* of Garcilasso), and the Yncas came out of Cuzco and surrendered. Quizquiz massacred all the family of Huascar before his eyes, a few only escaping.

This is the version of the war between Huascar and Atahuallpa, which Balboa heard at Quito; and he conversed with the contemporaries of the two brothers. Balboa concurs with Garcilasso, that the imprisonment and escape of Atahuallpa were fictions (p. 267). But Velasco states it as a fact (II, lib. iii, p. 70). Velasco, full of Quito prejudices, declares that Atahuallpa was generous, condescending, liberal, and adored by his army (ii, p. 75). He denies that he was cruel and vindictive, and says that he treated Huascar kindly, and sent him a prisoner to Xauxa. He urges that Garcilasso is unfair when he writes about Quito, being blinded by prejudice.

favoured the party of Atahuallpa, seeing that he had delivered him from his enemies. These people are so simple that they readily give credit to any story spread by the Yncas concerning the Sun, whose children they were.

Atahuallpa made a most cruel use of his victory. He pretended that it was his intention to restore Huascar to his throne, and on this pretext he summoned all the Yncas in the empire, as well governors and ministers of peace, as masters of the camp and war captains, to assemble at Cuzco within a certain time. He pretended that he wished to arrange certain rules and statutes with them, which were in future to be observed between the two kingdoms, that they might live in perfect peace and brotherhood. All the Yncas of the blood royal, except those who were prevented by age or sickness, or who were at such a distance as to be unable to arrive in time, obeyed the summons. When they were all assembled, Atahuallpa ordered them to be put to death in different ways, that he might feel secure against any insurrection that they might otherwise have attempted.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CAUSES OF THE ATROCITIES OF ATAHUALLPA AND THEIR MOST CRUEL EFFECTS.

Before we proceed further, it will be well to explain the causes which induced Atahuallpa to commit these atrocities on the members of his own family. It must be understood, then, that by the statutes and rules of that kingdom, inviolably kept from the time of Ynca Manco Ccapac to that of the great Huayna Ccapac, his father had no right to give the kingdom of Quitu to Atahuallpa, because all conquered territory belonged to the imperial crown. Moreover, the

same Atahuallpa was incapable of succeeding to the kingdom of Cuzco, because it was necessary that the inheritor should be the son of a legitimate wife, who must be a sister of the king, the inheritance of the kingdom being derived as much from the mother as from the father. In default of this, the king was obliged at least to be of the legitimate blood royal, son of a Palla of untainted and pure descent. Such sons were capable of inheriting the kingdom, but those of mixed blood could not succeed, and such a thing was not even to be imagined. Atahuallpa saw that he was wanting in all these titles to be Ynca, being neither a son of a Ccoya or queen, nor of a Palla or woman of the blood royal. For his mother was a native of the city of Quitu; nor could that kingdom of Quitu be dismembered from the rest of the empire. He resolved, therefore, to remove these difficulties, and any others that might arise in time to come, in his violent reign. He feared that when the present wars were ended the whole empire, by common consent, might demand an Ynca having the necessary qualifications, and might elect one and rebel against his rule. He believed that he could not prevent this, because the Indians were deeply attached to their idolatry and false religion, through the teaching of the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, and the practice and example of all his descendants.

He saw no other way of meeting these difficulties than by the cruel destruction of the whole blood royal, not only those who were capable of inheriting the empire, who were legitimate, but also all those who, like himself, were incapacitated from the succession through want of the proper qualifications. For his bad example would open the door to them all.

This is the remedy which has usually been resorted to by all those kings who have usurped power by violence, for they have believed that if there is no legitimate heir to whom the vassals can turn, they will be secure in conscience

and justice. Both ancient and modern history give full testimony to this, but we will not enumerate instances, in order to avoid prolixity. It will suffice to allude to the bad custom of the house of Othman, which is that the successor to the empire shall bury all his brothers with their father, that he may be safe from them.

The cruelty of Atahuallpa was greater than that of the Turks, for, not content with the blood of his own two hundred brothers, the sons of the great Huayna Ccapac, he passed on to drink that of his nephews, uncles, and other relations within and beyond the fourth degree, so that none of the blood royal might escape, whether legitimate or bastard. They were all murdered in different ways; some were beheaded, others were hanged, others thrown into lakes and rivers with great weights round their necks so as to prevent them from swimming, others were thrown from high rocks. All was done with as much rapidity as possible, because the tyrant could not feel secure until they were all dead. In spite of his victory he had not ventured to advance beyond Sausa, which the Spaniards call Xauxa, ninety leagues from Cuzco. The poor Ynca Huascar was not put to death, because he was reserved as a defence against any rebellion that might arise. Atahuallpa knew that an order from Huascar to remain quiet would be obeyed by the vassals. But, to increase the grief of the dethroned Ynca, they took him to witness the massacre of his relations, that he might be slain in each of their deaths, for he would have preferred the infliction of death upon himself, to seeing his relations so cruelly murdered.[1]

Cruelty was not satisfied without punishing the other prisoners, because in them the whole of the Curacas and

[1] Pizarro sent for Huascar, intending to decide the dispute between the brothers. Atahuallpa, fearing the result, sent an order for him to be murdered, while he was on his way to Casamarca. The order was obeyed, Huascar being drowned in the river of Andamarca.

chiefs devoted to Huascar would receive a lesson. They were taken, in manacles, to a level space in the valley of Sacsahuana, where the battle afterwards took place between the President Gasca and Gonzalo Pizarro. They were formed into a long lane. The poor Ynca Huascar was then taken, in a dress of mourning, with his hands tied behind his back and a rope round his neck, and led down the lane formed of his people. On seeing their prince so fallen they raised great cries and lamentations, and cast themselves on the ground before him, to adore and worship now that they could no longer help him. All who did this were slain with small axes called *champi*. They had other axes with which they fight, wielding them with two hands. Thus nearly all the Curacas and captains were slain in presence of their king, so that scarcely a single man escaped.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CRUELTY IS EXTENDED TO THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.

Having killed all the men of the blood royal, and the vassal subjects of Huascar, Atahuallpa passed on to shed the blood of the royal women and children. For cruelty is never satiated, and has greater hunger and thirst in proportion as it eats more human flesh and drinks more blood. Those who deserved some pity by reason of the tenderness of their age and the weakness of their sex, only excited the cruel rage of the tyrant still more. He ordered all the women and children to be assembled, of whatever age and condition, reserving only those who were dedicated to the Sun in the convent of Cuzco. He ordered that they should be killed outside the city, by little and little, and by various

cruel tortures, so that they might be long in dying. The ministers of this cruelty got together as many as they could collect throughout the kingdom, with great diligence and strict scrutiny, that none might escape. They assembled a great number of legitimate and illegitimate children, for, by reason of the permission to have as many women as they liked, the lineage of the Yncas was more numerous and extensive than any other in the whole empire. They were taken to the plain called *Yahuar-pampa*, which means "the field of blood." This name was given in remembrance of the bloody battle fought there between the Chancas and the people of Cuzco, as we have already related at large.[1] It is to the north of the city, and nearly a league from it.

They conducted them to this place, and, that none might escape, they formed three circles round them. The first consisted of soldiers, who were lodged there as a guard and garrison against the city, and a terror to their enemies; the other two circles consisted of sentries, posted in different directions, to watch day and night that none might enter or come out without being seen. They perpetrated their cruelties in various ways. They fed the children only with raw maize and herbs in small quantity, which was the strictest fast in the religion of that people. The women who were sisters, aunts, nieces, first cousins, and step-mothers of Atahuallpa, were fastened to trees, and to lofty gallows that were made on purpose. Some were fastened by the hair, others round the body, and others in vile ways that cannot be mentioned. Their children were given to them to hold in their arms, until they let them fall, when they were beaten. Others were hung up by one arm, or by both arms, others by the waist, that their torment might last longer, because to kill them at once would be too much mercy, which they prayed for with many cries and moans. The little boys and girls were killed by degrees, so many each

[1] See page 58.

week, great cruelties being inflicted upon them, as well as upon their parents, though their age might have bespoken clemency. Many of them died of hunger.

Diego Fernandez, in his history of Peru (Part II, book III, chap. v), treats briefly of the tyranny of Atahuallpa, and speaks of those cruelties in the following passage, which is copied word for word:—

"There were many differences between Guascar Inga and his brother Atabalipa, as to who should have dominion and be lord. Guascar Inga being in Cuzco and his brother Atabalipa in Caxamarca, Atabalipa sent two of his principal captains named Chalcuchiman and Quizquiz, who were valiant, and were accompanied by a large body of men, with the object of seizing Guascar Inga according to an arrangement. For Atabalipa would remain lord, and could do what he pleased with Guascar, if he could capture him. They conquered Caciques and Indians on the road, and put them under the dominion of Atabalipa. When Guascar received tidings of this, he marched out of Cuzco, and came to Quipaypan, which is a league from Cuzco, where he offered battle. Although Guascar had a numerous army, he was eventually defeated and taken prisoner. Many were killed on both sides, indeed the slaughter was so great, that it is confidently affirmed to have amounted to more than a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. After they had entered Cuzco victoriously, they killed many people: men, women, and children, and even the women who were pregnant. One of the wives of Guascar, named Mama Varcay, was so clever as to escape with a daughter of Guascar, named Coya Cuxi Varcay, who is now the wife of Xayre Topa Inga, whom we have mentioned in this history."

Thus far is from that author, who afterwards relates the cruel treatment of poor Huascar Ynca in prison. The Coya Cuxi Varcay who, he says, was the wife of Xayre Topa,[1] was

[1] A corrupt form for Sayri Tupac.

really named Cusi Huarque. The plain called by him Quipaypan, where the battle was fought, is a corrupt form. It should be *Qucpaypa*, which is the genitive, and means "of my trumpet". It is intended as a phrase to intimate that here the trumpet of Atahuallpa was most loudly sounded, according to the genius of that language. I was on that battle-field[1] two or three times with other boys who were my schoolfellows. We went there to hawk with the small falcons of the Indies, which were reared by our Indian hunters.

All the blood royal of the Yncas was extinguished in the way I have described, in the space of two years and a half; for, though the work could have been done in a shorter time, they prolonged it in order to enjoy their cruelties more fully. The Indians said that the name of *Yahuar-pampa*, which means "the field of blood", was confirmed by the royal blood which was shed there; for that of the Yncas was more in quantity and without comparison nobler in quality, than that previously shed, of the Chancas; while it aroused a stronger feeling of grief and pity, from the tender age of the children, and the natural weakness of their mothers.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A FEW PERSONS OF THE BLOOD ROYAL ESCAPED FROM THE CRUELTY OF ATAHUALLPA.

A few escaped from that cruelty, some who did not fall into the tyrant's power, and others who were spared by Atahuallpa's own soldiers, from pity at seeing the family perish, which they held to be divine, and from being tired

[1] See the previous note. It was not the battle-field, but the place where Atahuallpa's general, Quizquiz, encamped after the battle.

of such a horrible carnage.[1] They let them escape through the circles without their royal dresses, giving them clothing of the common people instead, that they might not be known. For the rank was known among those people by the dress. All those who thus escaped were boys and girls, from ten to eleven years of age and under. One of them was my mother, another was her brother, named Don Francisco Huallpa Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, whom I knew. He has written to me since I have been in Spain; and from the story I have often heard told, the account I have now been writing is taken. Besides these, I knew a few others that escaped from that massacre. I knew two Anquis, which means Princes, the sons of Huayna Ccapac. One was named Paullu, and he was grown up at the time of that calamity. He is mentioned by the Spanish historians. The other was named Titu. He was one of the legitimate Princes, and was then a boy. There was succession from Paullu, mixed with Spanish blood.[2] For his son Don Carlos Ynca, my schoolfellow, married a noble woman, born in the country but of Spanish parentage. By her he had Don Melchior Carlos Ynca, who came to Spain last year, being 1602, to see the court, and to receive the favours that were to be shown him for the services of his grandfather in the conquest and pacification of Peru, and afterwards in the civil wars. But these favours were especially due because he was the great-grandson, in the male line, of Huayna Ccapac, and the most distinguished and best known of the few survivors of that royal house. He is at present at Valladolid, awaiting the favours that are to be extended to him, and how great soever they may be, they ought to be greater.

[1] Our author afterwards found that he had been led into exaggeration on this point by his Ynca relations, who denounced the atrocities of Atahuallpa in unmeasured terms. See chapter XL of this book.

[2] Paullu, himself, seems to have married his sister Mama Ussica, who was baptised as Doña Catalina. (Balboa, *p.* 304.)

I know not whether there are descendants from Titu. Of the Ñustas or Princesses, daughters of Huayna Ccapac, and legitimate, one, named Doña Beatriz Coya, was married to Martin de Mustincia, a man of good family, who was Accountant in Peru, of the Treasury of the Emperor Charles V. They had three sons named Mustincias, and another besides, named Juan Serra de Leguiçamo, who was my schoolfellow.[1] The other Ñusta was named Doña Leonor Ccoya. She married first a Spaniard named Juan Balsa, with whom I was not acquainted, as it was during my childhood. They had a son of the same name, who was my schoolfellow. She married, secondly, Francisco de Villacastin, one of the first conquerors of Peru, and also of Panama and other lands. An historical anecdote, worthy of memory, occurs to me, which is what Francisco Lopez de Gomara says in the sixty-

[1] After the death of Martin de Mustincia or Bustincia, the Princess Beatriz Ccoya was left a widow. The President Gasca gave her in marriage to a conqueror named Diego Hernandez, who was said to have been a tailor in his youth. The Princess refused the match, saying that it was unjust to marry a daughter of Huayna Ccapac to a *Sira-camayoc* (tailor). The Bishop of Cuzco and Don Diego Centeno urged upon her the advantages of the marriage in vain. Her brother Paullu was then sent for, and, taking her into a corner of the room, he told her that the Spaniards would be enraged against the whole royal family, if she persisted in her refusal. At last she unwillingly yielded to the solicitations of her brother. But when the Bishop was going to perform the ceremony, she was still out of temper. On being asked if she was willing to take that man as her wedded husband, she said "*Ychach munani, ychach mana munani*" ("Perhaps I wish it, perhaps I do not"). With this answer they were obliged to be satisfied, and the ceremony went on. It was performed in the house of Diego de los Rios. See page 243.

Mancio Serra de Leguisamo appears to have been the husband of another Ñusta or Princess with the same baptismal name of Beatriz. His wife cannot have been the same lady as the wife of Mustincia and Hernandez, because Leguisamo had a son by her, who was a schoolfellow of Garcilasso, and must therefore have been born in about 1540, and Leguisamo's own will is dated 1589. (See *note*, vol. i, p. 272.) The Hernandez marriage must have been in about 1549. Garcilasso has confused two Ñustas together in the text. (See also *Comm. Real*, Pte. II, lib. VI, cap. 3.)

sixth chapter of his history. These are the words, copied word for word:—

"Pedrarias formed settlements at Nombre de Dios and Panama. He opened the road which leads from the one place to the other, at the cost of great labour and skill, the country being covered with rocks and dense forests, haunted by lions, tigers, bears, and ounces, and such a quantity of monkeys of different shapes and sizes, that their cries, when enraged, disturbed the workmen, and they took stones up into the trees to throw at those who approached."

Thus far is from Gomara. A conqueror of Peru had written in the margin of his copy of this author which I saw, the following words "One wounded a cross-bowman named Villacastin with a stone, and knocked out two of his teeth. He was afterwards a Conqueror of Peru, and Lord of a good *repartimiento* called Ayaviri. He died in prison at Cuzco, because he was on the side of Pizarro at Xaquixaguana, where he received a wound in the face, after he had surrendered, from one with whom he had quarrelled. He was a good man, who did much good to many people, though he died poor and despoiled of his Indians and estate. Villacastin killed the monkey that wounded him; for he shot off his arrow and the monkey his stone at the same time."

Thus far is what the Conqueror wrote. I will add that I saw the broken teeth, and they were two front ones. It was the general rumour throughout Peru that they were smashed by the monkey. I put this anecdote in this place, with the attestation of a witness, because it was a remarkable thing, and I always enjoy telling similar stories. Other Yncas and Pallas, not exceeding two hundred, were known to me, but they were of less note than those I have named. I have mentioned the above, because they were children of Huayna Ccapac.[1] My mother was his niece, daughter of

[1] Another daughter of Huayna Ccapac was baptised by the name of Francisca. She married Juan de Collantes, and their granddaughter

his legitimate brother on both the father's and mother's side, named Huallpa Tupac Ynca Yupanqui.

I knew a son and two daughters of the King Atahuallpa. One of them was called Doña Angelina, by whom the Marquis Don Francisco de Pizarro had a son, named also Don Francisco. He was a great rival of mine, and I of his. For, at the age of eight or nine years, his uncle Gonzalo Pizarro made us compete in running and jumping. The Marquis also had a daughter named Doña Francisca Pizarro, who grew up to be a fine lady, and married her uncle, Hernando Pizarro. Her father the Marquis had her by a daughter of Huayna Ccapac, named Doña Inez Huayllas Ñusta, who afterwards married Martin de Ampuero, a citizen of the City of the Kings.[1] These two children of the Marquis, and another of Gonzalo Pizarro, named Don Fernando, were taken to Spain, where the boys died young, to the great sorrow of those who knew them, for they were worthy sons of such fathers. I do not well remember the name of the other daughter of Atahuallpa, but it was either Doña Beatriz or Doña Isabel. She married a Spaniard of Estremadura, named Blas Gomez, and, secondly, a half caste gentleman named Sancho de Rojas. The son of Atahuallpa was named Don Francisco Atahuallpa; he was a handsome youth, both as regards figure and countenance, as were all the Yncas and Pallas. He died young. Further on I will relate a story touching his death, and the old Ynca who was my mother's uncle, which has reference to the cruelties of Atahuallpa. There was another surviving son of Huayna

Dominga married Hernandez Piedrahita, grandfather of Dr. Lucas Fernandez Piedrahita, the Bishop and historian of the conquest of Nueva Granada.

[1] Ulloa mentions the Ampuero family, of Lima, as having always been treated with great respect by the Spanish Viceroys, as representatives of the Yncas.

Ccapac, named Manco Ynca,[1] the legitimate heir to the empire, with whom I was not acquainted. Huascar died without male heirs.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE CRUELTIES ARE EXTENDED TO THE SERVANTS OF THE PALACE.

Returning to the cruelties of Atahuallpa, we have to relate that, not content with the massacre of all persons of the blood royal, and of the Curacas and captains, he ordered that all the servants of the palace should be slaughtered. These, as we have already explained,[2] were not particular persons, but the inhabitants of certain villages, each of which had the duty of sending certain servants and officers to serve for a fixed time. Atahuallpa hated them as well because they were servants of the palace, as because they had the title of Ynca, by a privilege which was granted to them by the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac. The knife of Atahuallpa entered into

[1] Manco became the legitimate reigning Ynca on the death of Huascar, and he made a gallant attempt to recover his dominions and liberate his people, closely besieging the Spaniards in Cuzco for some weeks. He had three sons and a daughter:—1. SAYRI TUPAC married Cusi Huarcay, daughter of his uncle Huascar. He was induced to surrender himself to the Spaniards and was baptised in 1553. But he died at Yucay in 1560, leaving a daughter named Ccoya Beatriz married to Don Martin Garcia Loyola. They had a daughter Lorenza, Marchioness of Oropesa, wife of Juan Henriquez de Borja.

2. CUSI TITU YUPANQUI, not mentioned by Garcilasso, but in the Ynca Pedigree of Dr. Justiniani.

3. TUPAC AMARU beheaded by order of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo in 1571. José Gabriel Condorcanquí, who rebelled in 1780, claimed descent from him, and took his name.

4. MARIA TUPAC USCA, wife of Pedro Ortiz de Orue. (See *note* at page 253.)

[2] See page 107.

these villages with more or less cruelty, in proportion to whether they served more or less near to the royal person. Those who approached him, such as porters, keepers of jewels, butlers, cooks, and servants of that class, received the worst treatment. Not content with killing all the inhabitants of the villages whence they came, of both sexes and all ages, he burnt and destroyed the houses and royal edifices. Those whose duties kept them at a distance from the sovereign, such as woodcutters, water carriers, gardeners, and others of that class, suffered less. Still he killed a tenth part of the inhabitants in their villages, great and small, and in others a fifth and a third part. Thus no village within a circuit of five to seven leagues of Cuzco escaped without suffering some cruelty, in addition to the tyranny and shedding of blood which prevailed all over the country, where there were burning of villages, pillage, rape, and other crimes that military licence indulges in, when it takes permission from itself alone. The towns and provinces at a distance from the city of Cuzco did not escape. As soon as Atahuallpa received news of the imprisonment of Huascar he ordered a war of fire and sword to be waged in all the provinces bordering on his kingdom, and especially on that of the Cañaris, because, when the insurrection was commenced, they did not wish to join in it.[1] When he became powerful he, therefore, took a most cruel vengeance upon them, as Agustin de Zarate also relates in his 15th chapter, in these words :—

"On arriving at the province of the Cañaris he killed 60,000 of them, because they had been against him, and he waged a war of fire and sword, desolating the town of Tumibamba, situated on a plain near three rivers, which was a very large place. He thence continued his ravages, and in the places where there was any resistance he did not leave a man alive."

[1] See page 336, and *note*.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara says the same thing in almost the same words.

Pedro de Cieza treats of the subject at more length. He mentions the want of men and the excess of women in the province of the Cañaris in his time, and that, in the wars of the Spaniards, they furnished girls instead of men to carry the baggage of the armies. In explaining the reason of this he uses these words, in his 44th chapter:—

[*See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p.* 167.]

Thus far is from Pedro de Cieza, and this will suffice on the subject of the cruelties of Atahuallpa. These cruelties gave rise to the story I have already alluded to, with reference to Don Francisco, son of Atahuallpa, who died a few months before I set out for Spain. The day after his death, very early in the morning, and before the funeral, the few Ynca relations came to visit my mother, and among them was the old Ynca of whom I have made mention several times. But, instead of expressing grief because the deceased was a nephew[1] of my mother, he expressed joy, saying that the Pachacamac had preserved him so many years that he might live to see the death and end of all his enemies; and he added many other words of the same kind, with great satisfaction and pleasure. I, not understanding the cause of his joy, said to him, "Ynca, why should we rejoice at the death of Don Francisco, seeing that he is our relation?" He turned upon me in a great rage, and taking up the end of the mantle which he wore instead of a cloak, he bit it (a sign of intense anger among the Indians) and said to me, "Then you are related to an *Auca*, son of another *Auca*" (which means a tyrant and traitor). "Who destroyed our empire? Who killed our Ynca? Who consumed and made an end of our blood and lineage? Who committed so many cruelties, foreign to the customs of our fathers? Give him to me dead as he is, that I may eat him raw, without pepper.

[1] First cousin once removed.

That traitor Atahuallpa, his father, was not the son of Huayna Ccapac, our Ynca, but of some Indian of Quito, with whom his mother committed treason against our king. If he had been an Ynca he not only would not have committed those cruelties and abominations, but he would not even have imagined them. For the tradition of our ancestors was to do harm to no man, not even to enemies, and certainly not to relations, but rather much good. Therefore do not say that he who acted in opposition to our ancestors was our relation. Recollect that you offer a grave insult to them, to us, and to yourself, in calling us relations to the cruel tyrant who made servants of kings, and of those few of us who escaped from his barbarities." All this and much more was said to me by the Ynca, excited by rage at the thoughts of the destruction of all his relations, and of the evils that the abominations of Atahuallpa had caused; and these recollections changed the joy they felt at the death of Don Francisco into great lamentations. Don Francesco, while he lived, feeling the hatred that the Yncas and all the Indians felt for him, did not hold communion with them, nor go out of his house. It was the same with his two sisters, for at every turn they heard the word *Auca*, so expressive of tyrannies, cruelties, and evils, a proper appellation and emblem of those who committed them.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REMAINING DESCENDANTS OF THE BLOOD ROYAL OF THE YNCAS.

Many days after I had finished this ninth book, I received certain notes from Peru, from which I have composed the chapter that follows, as they seem to me to be con-

nected with the history, and to have their proper place here.

Of the few Yncas of the blood royal who survived the cruelties and tyrannies of Atahuallpa, and of others which followed, there are a greater number of descendants than I thought. For in the end of the year 1603 they all wrote to Don Melchior Carlos Ynca, and to Don Alonzo de Mesa, son of Alonzo de Mesa, who was formerly a citizen of Cuzco, and also to me. They begged us, in their names, to beseech his majesty to give orders that they should be exempted from tribute which they had to pay, and from other vexations which they suffered in common with the rest of the Indians. They sent powers for all three of us to act as a body on their behalf. They also sent proofs of their descent, setting forth which of them were of the lineage of one king, and which of another, down to the last of the kings. As a further proof and verification they sent a royal genealogical tree, painted on a yard and a half of white silk of China, showing the descent from Manco Ccapac down to Huayna Ccapac and his son Paullu. The Yncas are painted in their ancient dresses. They wear the crimson fringe on their heads, and their ear ornaments in their ears, while in their hands they hold partisans, instead of the royal sceptres. They are represented from the waist upwards, and no more. All these documents came directed to me, and I sent them to Don Melchior Carlos Ynca and to Don Alonzo de Mesa, who reside with the court at Valladolid. For I was unable to press the suit on account of these occupations. I should rejoice to devote my life to the cause, yet I think I could not be better employed than at my present work. The letter which the Ynca addressed to me is in the handwriting of one of them, and very beautifully executed. The language which many of them talk is their own tongue, with numerous Castillian expressions, for they are now much changed by contact with Spaniards. The date of the letter is the 16th of

April, 1603. I do not insert it here, lest it should cause sorrow for the miseries which they describe their lives to be exposed to. They write full of confidence (and so we all believe) that so soon as his Catholic Majesty knows our grievances he will redress them, and confer many favours on the petitioners, because they are the descendants of kings. Having painted the figures of the Kings Yncas, they insert by the side of each his lineage, with this title *Ccapac Ayllu*, which means the august or royal generation. This title is applied to all in common, and implies that all descend from the first Ynca Manco Ccapac. Then they give another special title to the descent from each king, with different numbers, to indicate those which belong to such and such kings.

They call the lineage of Manco Ccapac *Chima Panaca*, and there are forty Yncas in that lineage. The lineage of Sinchi Rocca is called *Raurava Panaca*, and includes seventy-four Yncas. That of Lloque Yupanqui, the third Ynca, is called *Hahuanina Ayllu*, and includes seventy-three Yncas. That of Ccapac Yupanqui is *Apu Mayta*, and numbers fifty-three. That of Mayta Ccapac, the fifth king, they call *Usca Mayta*, and it includes thirty-five Yncas. That of Ynca Rocca, including fifty Yncas, is called *Vicaquirau*. That of Yahuar-huaccac, the seventh king, they call *Ayllu Panaca*, and includes fifty-one. That of Uirra-ccocha Ynca is called *Socso Panaca*, and includes seventy-nine Yncas. The descents of the Ynca Pachacutec, and of his son Ynca Yupanqui, are combined in one called *Ynca Panaca*, and thus the number of descendants is doubled, and becomes ninety-nine. The lineage of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui is called *Ccapac Ayllu*, which means the imperial descent, and confirms what was said above touching the same name.[1] It only includes eighteen Yncas. The lineage of Huayna Ccapac is called *Tumipampa*, in memory of a most solemn festival in

[1] See page 243.

honour of the Sun, which Huayna Ccapac celebrated on that plain, in the province of the Cañaris, where there were royal palaces, store-houses, convents, and a temple of the Sun, all so grand and so full of riches that Pedro de Cieza describes them fully in his 44th chapter, where he ends by saying, "In short, I am unable to describe the magnificence of these royal palaces of the Yncas."[1]

The recollection of this solemn feast induced Huayna Ccapac to preserve the name in that of his lineage, which is called *Tumipampa*. This lineage does not consist of more than twenty-two. For as the lineages of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, and of his son Huayna Ccapac, were those nearest to the royal tree, Atahuallpa took more pains to extirpate them than the others, and thus very few escaped from his cruelty, as is clear from the list. All the descendants form a total of five hundred and sixty-seven persons, and it should be noted that they are all descendants in the male line.[2] For

[1] See my translation, p. 166.

[2] Dr. Don Justo Sahuaraura Ynca, a Canon of Cuzco, who claims descent from the children of the Sun, published his *Recuerdos de la Monarquia Peruana* at Paris in 1850 (Bouret et Cie.), with sixteen portraits.

The lineage of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac is here called *Ayllu Raurahua;* of Sinchi Rocca, *Ayllu Chima Panaca*; of Lloque Yupanqui, *Hahuanina Ayllu;* of Mayta Ccapac, *Usca Mayta;* of Ccapac Yupanqui, *Ayllu Apumayta Panac Urin Cuzco;* of Ynca Rocca, *Ayllu Huicca Quirau Panaca Hanan Cuzco;* of Yahuar-huaccac, *Ayllu Huaccaylli Panaca;* of Uira-coccha, *Ayllu Susco Panaca;* to the lineage of Pachacutec he gives no special name, but says that the families of Ccacca Cuzcos, Anahuarques, and Sahuarauras descend from him; of Ynca Yupanqui, *Ayllu Ynca Panaca;* of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, *Ccapac Ayllu Panaca;* and of Huayna Ccapac, *Ayllu Tumipampa.*

Dr. Justo Sahuaraura concludes his little volume by tracing his own descent, in two lines, from the Yncas. He graduated at the University of Cuzco, and became Priest of Soraya in the province of Aymaraes. He took part in the battle of Ayacucho, which finally destroyed the Spanish power in Peru, and was a Deputy of Congress in 1825. He was Archdeacon of Cuzco in 1836, and died in 1852, leaving two nieces. His house was near the west end of the church of St. Domingo at Cuzco, the ancient temple of the Sun. [In a

the Yncas set no value on a descent through women, as has already been stated, unless such descendants were sons of Spaniards and conquerors of the land, whom they also called Yncas, believing that they were children of their god, the Sun. The letter they wrote to me was signed by eleven Yncas, in conformity with the eleven lineages, and each one signed for all those of his lineage. The signatures consist of the baptismal names, and those of their ancestors as surnames. The names of the other lineages, leaving out the two last, have some meaning which I do not understand, for they are words in the special language which the Yncas had for inter-communion among themselves, and not in that of the general language which was spoken in the court. It remains to speak of Don Melchior Carlos Ynca, grandson of Paullu, and great grandson of Huayna Ccapac, of whom we said that he came to Spain in 1602, to receive favours. In the beginning of the present year, 1604, the report on his case was made, and he received a grant of 7500 ducats of rent in perpetuity, from the royal treasury of his Majesty, in the City of the Kings. He was also granted a sum to aid in bringing his wife to Spain, the habit of Santiago, and a promise of a place at court. The Indians whom he inherited from his father and grandfather in Cuzco were

In a letter to the *Museo Erudito* of Cuzco (No. 7, June 15th, 1837), Dr. Justo Sahuaraura Ynca says that he was left an orphan at an early age, to the care of two grandmothers: one the Ccoya Doña Maria Titu Atauchi Auquihuaman, widow of Don Nicolas Apu Sahuaraura, his paternal grandfather; the other, Ccoya Doña Melchiora Yauroc de Arisa Titu Condemayta, widow of Ynca Don Bustinsia Cusi Lauccarmayta, his maternal grandfather. His guardians were two Ynca uncles, both Priests, and they had many traditions preserved in their family. Dr. Justo adds: "I have the right to say, with just pride, that I knew how to defend the rights of my native land, at the peril of my life and fortune, in the field of Ayacucho." An ill-natured attack was made upon Dr. Justo Sahuaraura by a certain Dr. Gallego, in the *Museo Erudito;* probably with no foundation. See note at page 143 of my *Travels in Peru and India.*

transferred to the royal crown, and he was not allowed to return to the Indies. They have written from Valladolid, to tell me that this is the decision in the report. But I know not up to the present time, which is the end of March, whether they have effected anything to enable them to write on the subject of the petition.[1] And with this we shall enter upon the consideration of the heroic and incredible deeds of the Spaniards who conquered that empire.

[1] It appears that Don Melchor Carlos Ynca never presented the petition of his relations, because he did not wish it to be known that there were so many of the blood royal, lest it should injure his own claims. He died at Alcala de Henares in 1610, and left a son, three years old, who died within a year of his father.—*Comm. Real*, Pte. II, lib. VIII, cap. 18.

END OF BOOK NINE.

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Tiahuanacu, i, 71, 75, 210, 212; ii, 307
Tica-tica, water led from, into Cuzco, ii, 112
Ticsampi, ii, 341
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Titicaca lake, i, 64, 163, 285; fish in, 402
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Toco-cachi, a suburb of Cuzco, ii, 249
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Ttahuantin-suyu, the empire of the Yncas, i, 72; ii, 231, 241
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Tucma (Tucuman), i, 81; ii, 79, 219, 278, 436
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Yacha-huasi, schools at Cuzco, ii, 247
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Yana-huara, ii, 235
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Yucay, i, 86; ii, 86, 485
Yuncas, ii, 224
Xaquixaguana (*see* Sacsahuana)
Zepita, i, 171

QUICHUA WORDS.

Aca, dirt, i, 121, 298
Acatanca, beetle, i, 121
Acca, fermented liquor, i, 298
Aclla, chosen, i, 292; ii, 250
Aclla-huasi, "house of the chosen ones", i, 292
Allco, a dog, ii, 282
Allpa, earth, i, 126; ii, 99
Allpa-camasca, "animated earth", a name for the human body, i, 126
Amancay, lily, i, 241 (pte. II, lib. ii. cap. 25)
Amaru, a serpent, i, 330; ii, 23, 30, 263, 352, 385
Amauta, a philosopher, wise man, i, 114, 174, 19, 286. Teach in the schools, 336; ii, 89, 124, 247, 316
Añas, a skunk, ii, 384
Anca, eagle, ii, 457
Ancas, blue, i, 40
Anta, copper (pte. II)
Anus, an edible root, ii, 5
Apachec (present part.) } 'That which
Apachecpa „ geni. } is carried,'
Apachecta „ acc. } ii, 356
Api, fritters, ii, 356
Apichu, sweet potatoes, ii, 359
Apu, chief, i, 225; ii, 39, 318
Aquilla, cup of gold, ii, 159
Astaya, "go!" ii, 132
Atac, an exclamation of pain (pte. II, lib. 1, cap. 24)
Atoc, fox, ii, 384
Auasca, coarse cotton cloth, ii, 76, 144, 324
Auca, enemy, traitor, i, 156; ii, 76, 528
Auca-cunapac (dative plural) for traitors, ii, 177
Auqui, unmarried prince, i, 97; only applied to the blood royal, ii, 352
Ayar, a proper name, without meaning in Quichua, i, 74
Ayllu, lineage, family, i, 67
Ayar, *see* Court dialect, ii, 243
Ayusca, a sickly child, i, 316

Buhca? to spin (corrupt, or a misprint for *puchca*), ii, 172

C.cca (*see* p.pa) ancient genitive terminations, ii, 331
Caca, uncle (brother of the mother), i, 285
Cachi, salt, i, 74; ii, 238
Cachun (Cacham), the pepino fruit (a *cucurbitacea*), ii, 361
Caçi, a fast, ii, 229
Cam, you, i, 197
Cama, the soul, i, 106
Camac, created, i, 101
Camayu, "he who has charge", i, 152
Camcha, toasted maize, ii, 357
Canca, maize pudding, i, 298; ii, 157, 163, 356
Cancu, sacrificial bread, ii, 356
Cancha, place, court, i, 283; ii, 30
Canqui, thou art (pte. II, lib. i, cap. 23)
Cantut, a flower (phlox), ii, 177, 238
Çapa, alone, sole, i, 91
Capia, a kind of maize, ii, 355
Carache, a disease among llamas, ii, 378
Casi, *see* Caçi
Cassa, ice, ii, 326
Catu, market, ii, 254
Cavi, preserved *oca* (which *see*), ii, 359
Cay, this, i, 198
Cayan, now, i, 198
Ccaca, a rock, i, 285
Ccapac, rich, i, 95; ii, 27, 345
———, ayllu, royal family, ii, 243, 345, 531
——— runa, vassal of the Ynca, ii, 345
Ccenti, humming bird, ii, 390
Ccocha, lake, i, 49; ii, 66
Ccoy (*see* Coy)
Ccoya, queen, i, 68, 96, 293, 296
Ccuri, gold, i, 283
Ccuri-cancha, temple of the sun, i, 283
Chaca, bridge, ii, 119
Chacra, farm, ii, 226
Chacu, hunt, ii, 109, 115
Chahuar, aloe fibre, i, 58, 227
Challua, fish, ii, 402
Champi, battle-axe, ii, 177, 518

Chanacuy (*see* Mita-Chanacuy), a law, ii, 33
Chancasca, touched, pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25
Chaqui, foot, i, 121
———, dry, i, 122
Chaquira, gold bead, ii, 338
Chasca, the planet Venus, i, 176, 275. Meaning of the word, 176 (note). Morning star. Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25
Chasqui, messenger, ii, 49, 60, 119, 120, 121
Chaupi, middle, i, 198
Chayna, a singing bird, ii, 394
Chichi, hail, i, 198
Chihuayhua, a yellow flower, ii, 177
Chillca, a tree (*Baccharis scandens*), i, 187
China, female servant, i, 197
Chinchi uchu, a smaller kind of capsicum, ii, 366, *see* Uchu
Chipana, bracelet, look-out place, ii, 30, 163
Chirmac, harmful, ii, 326
Choclla, unripe maize, ii, 226
Chucam, herb, ii, 157
Chucchu, fever, i, 187; ii, 461
Chuchau, *Agave Americana*, i, 86; ii, 863, 437
Chucu, head-dress, ii, 322
Chunca, ten, i, 152; a game, i, 152
Chunca-camayu, Decurion, i, 152
Chunçasun, "we will play", i, 153
Chuñu, frozen potatoe, ii, 17, 359
Chupa, tail, ii, 239
Chuqui, lance, i, 225; ii, 171
Chura, put, i, 198
Churi, son, i, 91, 214
Chuspa, bag for holding coca, i, 296
Chuy, bean, i, 206; ii, 358
Chuychu, rainbow, i, 296
Cocohuay, dove, ii, 393
Collcam, (*see* Court dialect) underground granary. Pleiades, ii, 237
Collque, silver, ii, 240
Compi, fine cloth, ii, 324
Coraquenque (*see* Court dialect) sacred bird, ii, 178
Corpa-huasi, lodging, ii, 29
Coy, guinea-pig, ii, 233, 384
Cuca (coca leaf), i, 296, 330; ii, 371-75
Cuchi (corrupt), pig, ii, 475
Cuchuca, an edible root, ii, 360
Cuna, plural particle, i, 293
Cuntur (condor), i, 48, 75; ii, 75, 156, 322, 389, 390
Cunuñunan, it thunders, i, 197
Çupay (*see* Supay)
Curaca, chief, i, 82; ii, 39, 268, and *passim*.
Curcu, beam, ii, 30, 238
Cusi, joy, ii, 159, 423
Cusqui Raymi, third feast of the sun, ii, 227
Cutini, I overturn, ii, 88
Cuzco (*see* Court dialect), navel or centre, i, 73, 142

Hahuanina, *see* Court dialect
Hamusac, "I will come," i, 195
Hanac, above (pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Hanan, upper, i, 67
Haravec, bard, i, 195; ii, 134, 247
Hatun, great, i, 167, 217, 212, 267; ii, 39
Haylli, a chaunt, ii, 8
Hihuaya, black pebble, i, 202
Hina, so, i, 197
Huaca, a sacred thing, i, 107, 115, 119; ii, 240
Huacay, pleasure, i, 158
Huaccac, weeping, ii, 328
Huaccanqui, "you will mourn", i, 162
Huaccha cuyac, "friend of the poor", i, 90, 97; ii, 174, 426
Huacra, horn, ii, 226
Huahua, child, i, 314
Hualla, plain, ii, 31
Huallcanca, shield, ii, 171
Huallpa, fowl, ii, 481
Huaman, falcon, ii, 389, 458
Huanacu (guanaco), ii, 117, 376, 382
Huanac, warning, ii, 181
Huanani, I warn, ii, 181
Huanu, manure, ii, 181
Huaracu, belt, ii, 134, 167
Huarcapaña, "without spot", (pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Huarmi, woman, ii, 482
Huasca, rope, ii, 422
Huasi, house, i, 291; ii, 247, 250
Huata, year, i, 177
Huatani, I seize, i, 177
Huauque, brother addressing his brother, i, 314
Huayna, young man, ii, 345
Huchanac, compounded of Hucha (sin), and Hanac (above). "Without sin" (pte. II, lib. 2, cap. 25)
Huira, *see* Uira
Huminta, a kind of bread, ii, 355, 357
Hurin, Lower, ii, 67

Llaçlla, feeble, ii, 226
Llacta, village, ii, 6, 34
Llama, beast (*passim*) ii, 376

Llancac-alpa, a sort of mortar, ii, 99
Llapi, song, i, 194
Llautu, royal fringe, i, 85, 296; ii, 74
Llayca, a diviner, ii, 458
Llimpi, a purple colour, ii, 473
Lloque, left-handed, i, 161

Macana, club, ii, 171
Machachnay, serpent, ii, 240, 385
Mama, mother, i, 293
Mamacuna, matrons, i, 293, 294, 300, 302
Mama-ccocha, the sea, i, 49
Mamanchic, "Our mother", i, 97; ii, 439 (pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Mama-quilla, "mother moon", i, 274
Mana, No. Not; ii, 523 (*note*)
Mana-chancas-ca, "not touched", a virgin (pte. II, lib ii, cap. 25)
Manco (*see* Court dialect), proper name with no special meaning, i, 70 (*note*)
Mantara, for this, i, 197
Maqui, hand, arm, i, 121
Marca, village, ii, 313
Matecllu, plant for sore eyes, i, 188
Mati (*see* sapallu) calabash used for making cups, ii, 334, 360
May, where, i, 198
Mayta, proper name, i, 209
Mayu, river, i (*passim*); ii, 263, 399
Michec, shepherd, ii, 376
Milluy, spinning-wool, ii, 172
Misi, cat (corrupt), ii, 476
Mita, turn, ii, 33
Mita-chanacuy, "To take turn according to families," ii, 33
Mitimaes, emigrants, ii, 215
Mitmac, i, 269, 286; ii, 215, 217
Mizqui, sweet, ii, 14
Mosoc, round, ii, 213
Mulli, tree (*Schinus molle*), i, 187; ii, 364, 367
Munani, I love, ii, 523 (*note*)
Munay, love, ii, 239
Munquini, I drop, i, 198
Muruchu, a kind of maize, ii, 355
Murumura, a piebald llama, ii, 29
Muti, boiled maize, ii, 357

Naña, sister, addressing her sister, i, 314
Nanani, I hurt, i, 267
Nchic, first person plural termination (pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Ñimpiri, sometimes, i, 198
Nina, fire, ii, 531, (*see* Court dialect)
Nuñu, to suck, milk, bosom, ii, 382
Nuñuma, duck, ii, 388
Ñusta, princess, i, 96, 197; ii, 523, 525

Oca, edible root (*Oxalis tuberosa*), ii, 5, 359
Ocllo, virgins, i, 305
Orcos, *see* Urco
Oscollo, wild cat, ii, 116

P. pa (*see* C. Cca) genitive terminations, ii, 155, 521 (pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Paccari, morning, i, 65, 182
Paccay, a fruit, ii, 362
Pacha, earth, i, 119; ii, 88
Pachacamac, Creator of the world, i, 106; ii, 38
Pacharurac, Maker of the world, i, 109
Pachacutec, reformer of the world, ii, 88
Pachayachachi, teacher of the world, i, 109; ii, 56
Paco (alpaca), ii, 378, 382
Pahuac, "he who flies", ii, 74
Palla, lady of the blood royal, i, 96, 97; ii, 243, 307. All handsome, 525
Palta (*Persea gratissima*), a fruit, ii, 335, 363
Pampa, a plain (*passim*)
Pana, a sister when addressed by her brother, i, 314
Panaca, *see* words in Court dialect
Pancuncu, a torch, ii, 232
Papa, potatoe, ii, 5, 17, 213, 359
Para, rain, i, 198
Parahuay, "let it rain", ii, 262
Pariapichiu, a small singing bird, ii, 394
Parihuana, flamingo, i, 231
Pata, hill (*passim*)
Pataca, basket, i, 254
Paya, old woman, grandmother (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Paycha, fringe and tassels worn by princes of the blood royal, i, 296
Paycu, a medicinal herb, causing perspiration and sleep (Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 36)
Pillu, a garland, ii, 425
Pirua, granary, i, 36; ii, 15, 101, 233
Poccha, a measure for grain, ii, 9
Pucara, a fortress, i, 160
Puma, a lion, i, 232; ii, 30, 238, 385
Puna, elevated plain, ii, 393
Punchau, day, i, 182
Puncu, door, ii, 240, 312
Puñunqui, "you will sleep, i, 195

Pururauca, a corrupt word in Acosta, ii, 57
Purutu, bean, ii, 358
Puyña, a vase, i, 197

Quechua, first occasion on which the word is used, i, 34
Quepaypa, "of thy trumpet", ii, 521
Quilla, moon, month, i, 176, 181
Quillay, iron, i, 201, 262
Quinua, a grain, ii, 5, 17, 213, 357, 367
Quipu, knot record, i, 150, 191; ii, 117, 121, 125
Quipu-camayoc, keeper of records, ii, 123, 125
Quirau, a cradle, ii, 531 (*see* Court dialect)
Quishuar, a tree (*Buddleia Incana R. P.*), ii, 495

Raurana (*see* Court dialect), from Raurani, I burn, ii, 531
Raymi, feast of the Sun, i, 279, 298; ii, 22, 155, 162, 445
Rimac, "he who speaks", ii, 239
Riti, snow, i, 40
Rocca, a proper name, i, 92, 157
Rocro, a dish of potatoes and capsicums, ii, 226
Rucma (*Prosopis dulcis*), a fruit, Lucuma, ii, 363
Rumi, stone (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 33)
Runa, a man, i, 35; ii, 181
Runtu, egg, ii, 89, 481
Rupa, fever, ii, 461
Rurac, maker, i, 109
Russa, remittent fever, i, 187

Sacha, tree, ii, 504
Sacha-runa, wild man, ii, 504
Sapallu (*see* Mati), edible calabash, ii, 360
Sapa (*see* Çapa)
Sapa Ynca, sole Ynca, i, 95, 324
Sara, maize, i, 49, 189; ii, 355
Sauca, joy, pleasure, i, 74
Savintu (*Psidium Guayava*), ii, 362
Sayccusca, "tired", ii, 306
Sayri, tobacco, i, 188; ii, 375
Senca, nose, ii, 239
Sinchi, strong, i, 72
Sira-camayoc, tailor, ii, 523 (*note*)
Situa, a festival, i, 298; ii, 82, 157
Situa Reymi, festival, i, 179
Socso (*see* Court dialect)
Socta, six (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 13)
Sora, a strong liquor, ii, 357
Suchi, a fish, ii, 402
Sumac, beautiful, i, 197 (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap 9)
Sunchu, a bitter herb, ii, 376
Sunqui, second transition ending of a verb, i, 198
Supay, devil, i, 108; ii, 397
Surachec, "what makes anything slip", a mining term, ii, 415
Suri, ostrich, ii, 31, 394
Suyu, province (*passim*)
Suyuntu, Turkey buzzard, ii, 390

Tampu, inn, ii, 25
Tancani, I push, i, 121
Tanga-tanga, idol at Chuquisaca, i, 120
Taruca, deer, ii, 384
Tarvi, lupin, ii, 358
Tazqui, girl, maiden, i, 197
Tiana, throne, ii, 100
Ticci Uira-ccocha, a mistaken name for God, given by the Spaniards, i, 109; ii, 38
Titi, lead, i, 285
Toco, window, ii, 238
Tora, brother, when addressed by his sister, i, 314
Ttahua, four, i, 35, 142
Ttahuantin-suyu, "four parts of the empire," i, 35, 142; ii, 24, 204, 231
Ttanta, bread, ii, 357
Ttiu, sand, ii, 212
Tucuyricoc, an overseer who reported the shortcoming of officials to their superiors, i, 154
Tullu, bone, i, 14
Tumi (in Tumipampa), a knife, ii, 533
Tupac, resplendent, ii, 204, 321, 353
Tupac Yaya, "the father who is resplendent", a title of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, ii, 353
Tupu, measure of land, ii, 9
Tuta, night, i, 182
Tutura, reed, i, 86

Uaua (or Huahua), child, i, 314
Uchu (*Capsicum annuum, baccatum, frutescens*), Aji pepper, i, 74; ii, 15, 213 (see *Chinchi uchu*)
Ucucha, a rat, ii, 479
Ucumari, a bear, ii, 385
Uiñay Huayna, "Always young", a plant, ii, 177
Uira, grease, i, 343; ii, 66
Uirá-ccocha (name of an Ynca), meaning of the word, ii, 66
Uma, head, ii, 334

Uncu, tunic, i, 296
Unu, water, i, 198
Urcu, a hill (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 13)
Uritu, parrot, ii, 397
Urpi, dove, ii, 393
Uruya, a basket, travelling on a cable, for crossing rivers, i, 261
Usca (*see* Court dialect)
Ussun, cherry, i, 364; ii, 493
Usuta, sandal, i, 82; ii, 171
Uturuncu, jaguar, ii, 385

Vicaquirau (*see* Court dialect)
Vicuña, ii, 117, 378, 383, 384
Villac Vmu, High Priest of the Sun, i, 277
Villani, I say, i, 277
Vmu, soothsayer, i, 277
Villca, grandeur, sacred, ii, 255, 416
Viñapu, a distilled liquor, ii, 357
Viracocha (*see* Uira-ccocha)
Viscacha, a rabbit, ii, 384
Vyaca, sticks for obtaining fire by friction, ii, 163

Yacha, school, i, 335; ii, 247
Yachani, I learn, i, 110
Yachachini, I teach, i, 110
Yacolla, mantle, i, 296
Yahuar, blood, i, 328; ii, 58
Yahuar-huaccac (name of an Ynca), "weeping blood", i, 328
Yanacuna, servants, ii, 411
Yaya, father, ii, 353
Ychach, perhaps, ii, 523 (*note*)
Ychma, vermilion, ii, 413
Ychu, long coarse grass, i, 254
Yllapa, thunder and lightning, i, 105, 182, 275
Yllapantac, it thunders, i, 197
Ynca, sovereign lord (*passim*), all handsome, ii, 525
Yncap Runam, vassal, i, 35
Ynchic, an edible root, ii, 360
Ynti, sun (*passim*)
Yntip-churi, "child of the Sun", i, 98
Yntip Raymi, "feast of the Sun", ii, 155
Ypa, hollow joints of cane (Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 3)
Yqui, second possessive pronoun, i, 197
Yupanqui, "you will count", a title of the Yncas, i, 161
Yurac, white (Pte. II, lib. ii, cap. 25)
Yutu, partridge, ii, 393

Words given by Cieza de Leon, but not in the Royal Commentaries.

Chumpi, a belt, 146

Huayra, wind, air, 389

Lliclla, a mantle, 146

Topu, a pin, 146

Uncha, fillet for the head, 146

Words referred, by Garcilasso, to the Court Dialect of the Yncas.

Ayar, name of the mythical brothers of Manco Ccapac, i, 74

Collcam, referred by Garcilasso to the special dialect because he had forgotten its meaning. It means an underground granary, ii, 237

Coraquenque, the sacred bird; *Cora* means a pasture, ii, 178

Cuzco, "a navel" in the Court dialect, according to Garcilasso, i, 73

Hahuanina, name of the lineage descended from Lloque Yupanqui; perhaps *Huahua* (child), and *Nina* (fire), ii, 531, 533

Manco, i, 90

Panaca, a word in the names of several Ynca lineages, viz., those of Manco Ccapac, Sinchi Rocca, Yahuar-Huaccac, Uira-ccocha, and Pachacutec; probably from *Pana* (sister of a brother), and *ca* (the ancient form of the genitive), ii, 531-533

Rauraua, probably a misprint for Raurana; a word in the name of

the lineage of Sinchi Rocca; *Raurani* (to burn), ii, 531-533

Socso, a word in the name of the lineage of Uira-ccocha; *Socsuni* (to be weak), ii, 531-533

Usca, name of the lineage of Mayta Ccapac; *Uscani* (to beg), ii, 531-533

Vicaquirau, name of the lineage of Ynca Rocca; *Quirau* (a cradle), ii, 531-533

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Anahuarque Ccoya, wife of Ynca Pachecutec, ii, 203
Ancohualla, chief of the Chancas (*see* Hanco-huallu)
Angelina Ñusta, daughter of Atahuallpa (married to Juan de Betanzos, part II, lib. iv, cap. 8) ii, 525
Apu Mayta, i, 339
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Atahuallpa, i, 62, 81, 107, 300, 328; ii, 65, 90, 104, 140, 318, 336. Birth, 424, 450. War with Huascar, 505, 515. Cruelties, 516-28. Meaning of the name, 476, 482
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Auqui Titu (general of army of Ccapac Yupanqui), i, 241
Ayar Cachi, Ayar uchu, Ayar sauca } legendary brothers of Manco Ccapac, i, 73

Beatriz, *see* Ñusta

Calla-cunchuy, one of the architects of the Cuzco fortress, ii, 315
Carlos Ynca, son of Paullu, ii, 522
Cari, a chief of the Collas, i, 248-250
Ccapac Yupanqui, fifth Ynca. His reign, i, 234. His death, 269. Conquests, 31. Lineage, ii, 531
Ccapac Yupanqui, general and brother of Ynca Pachacutec, ii, 127, 130, 134, 136, 137, 140, 147
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Ccoya Chimpu Ocllo, wife of Ynca Yupanqui, ii, 304
Ccoya Mama Curiyllpay, wife of Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, i, 270
Ccoya Mama Ocllo, wife of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, ii, 92
Challcuchima, general of Atahuallpa, ii, 509
Chauca Rimachi, an old captain of Huayna Ccapac, ii, 460
Chimu, ii, 193, 195, 197, 205
Chipana, a chief of the Collas, i, 248, 250
Chuquimancu, chief of coast valleys, ii, 181, 194
Colla, a legendary brother of Manco Ccapac, i, 71
Cora, *see* Mama Cora
Cuismancu, chief of the valley of the Rimac, ii, 185, 190, 192, 194
Cusi Huallpa, the author's old uncle, ii, 460
Cusi Huarque, wife of Sayri Tupac, ii, 521

Diego, *see* Sayri Tupac.

Felipe Ynca, an apt scholar, i, 205
Francisca, daughter of F. Pizarro, by an Ynca princess. Her marriages, ii, 525
Francisco Ynca, son of Atahuallpa, ii, 525. His death, 528, 529
Fernando Huallpa Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, the author's grandfather, ii, 353, 461, 523, 525

Garcia, chief of Surcunca. His last will, i, 312

Hanco-hualla, chief of the Chancas, i, 347; ii, 58; his flight, 82, 329
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Huascar Ynca, i, 388; ii, 90, 103, 318, 336, 352, 422, 451, 505 to 515.
Huayna Ccapac, 12th Ynca, i, 104, 271; his body found, 273; ii, 103, 220, 255, 266, 318, 345, 346, 351, 419, 428 to 438; sayings, 445, 458; death, 461, 530; lineage, 532
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